A PROPOSITION AGAINST AFFIRMATIVE ACTION?

JANUARY 30, 1995 • $2.95

THE NEW REPUBLIC

Rosalynn Carter: Leave My Husband Alone! • The Gingrich Suck-Up Watch

AMBASSADOR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
JAN 1 8 1995
PO Box 111
Big Sandy, TX 75755

THE WAR ON IMMIGRANTS

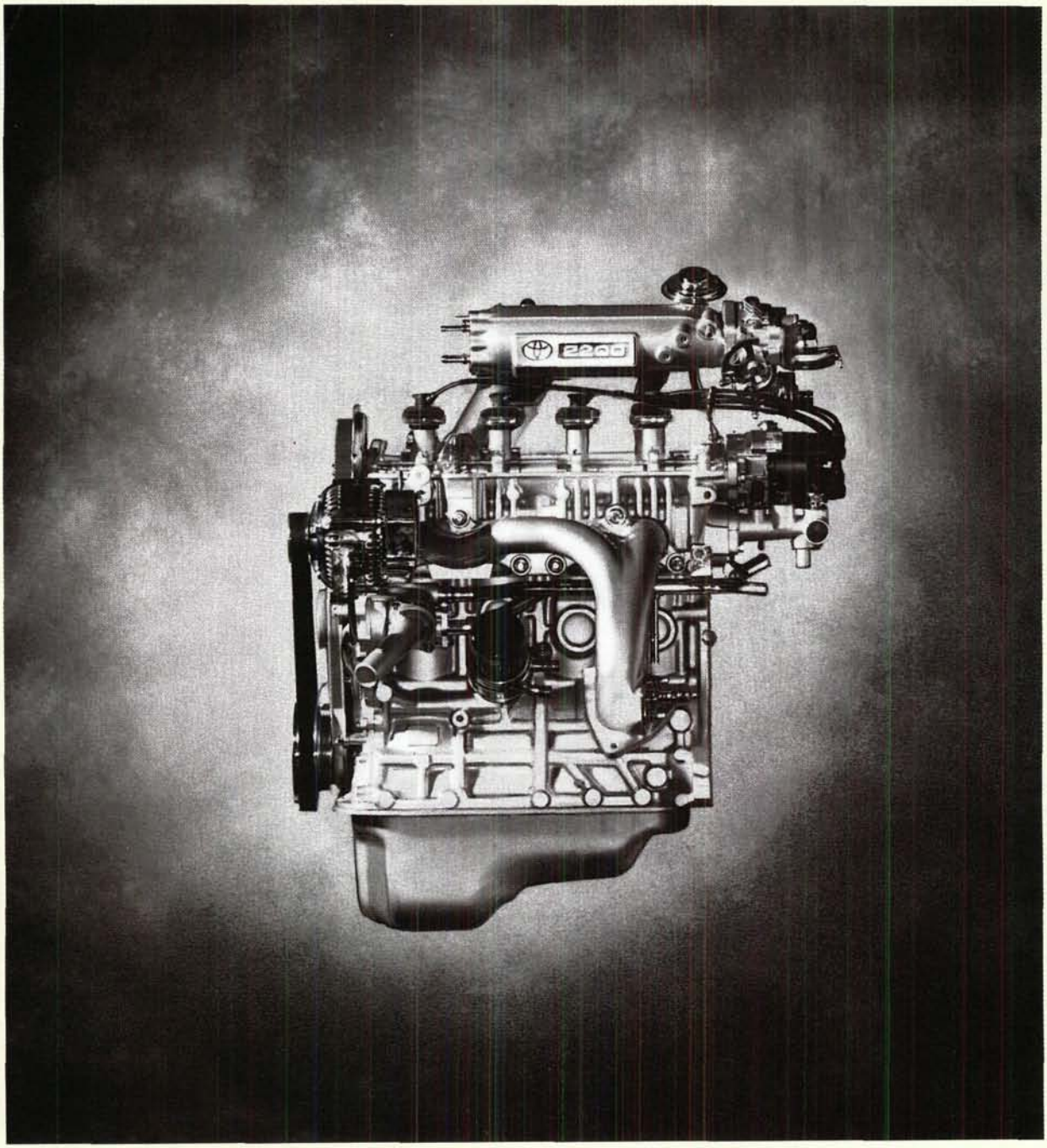
WHY THE COURTS CAN'T SAVE US

JEFFREY ROSEN

THE AFRICAN AMERICAN REVENGE

PETER SKERRY

#BXBKDML ******* 3-DIGIT 757
#757558A11IRY007# 012996
HO NWRE S00311
AMBASSADOR COLLEGE
ROY HAMMER LIB
PO BOX 111
TG SANDY TX 75755-0111
49140
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



© 1994 Toyota Motor Corporate Services of North America, Inc.

The 2.2 liter DOHC Camry engine. Made in Georgetown, Kentucky.

IT ALSO DRIVES THE ECONOMY.

AT TOYOTA, we're continuing our commitment to building in America. In fact, at our manufacturing plant in Kentucky, we're producing nearly 250,000 engines per year. It's part of Toyota's $5 billion investment in American manufacturing, an investment that's driving more than 16,000 direct jobs across America.

INVESTING IN THE THINGS WE ALL CARE ABOUT. **TOYOTA**

For more information about Toyota in America write Toyota Motor Corporate Services, 9 West 57th Street, Suite 4900-D5, New York, NY 10019.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Weekly Journal of Opinion

JANUARY 30, 1995

AMBASSADOR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

FOUNDED 1914
WASHINGTON, D.C.
ISSUE 4,176

PO Box 111
Big Sandy, TX 75755

Cover by Eric Baker for THE NEW REPUBLIC. Articles on pages 19 and 22.

4 **CORRESPONDENCE** Rosalynn Carter and Susan Herrnstein stand by their men &c.

6 **MICKEY KAUS** TRB: DEVOLUTION BLUES The states break the contract.

7 **THE EDITORS** PARTNERS IN CRIME Reconsidering our relationship with Russia.

8 **NOTEBOOK** Introducing the Newt Gingrich Suck-Up Watch &c.

10 **ERIC PREVEN AND JOSHUA PREVEN** MIDTERM ADDENDA Course catalog outtakes.

11 **CHRIS BONASTIA** CONSUMED: SUCKING IN THE '70S Gary Glitter and ELO on the dial.

12 **RICHARD STENGEL** AFTER YOU'VE GONE: BAZOOKA JOE Pretoria's white Communist.

15 **ROBERT S. McINTYRE** TAXING THE POOR The Republicans' latest fiscal idea.

16 **PETER SCHRAG** SON OF 187 A new wave of anti-affirmative action propositions could alter the electoral map in 1996. A report from California.

19 **PETER SKERRY** THE BLACK ALIENATION Why African Americans are increasingly nativist.

22 **JEFFREY ROSEN** THE WAR ON IMMIGRANTS As Republicans talk of cutting off benefits to legal and illegal aliens, pro-immigrationists look to the Supreme Court for their salvation. They're doomed.

28 **STANLEY KAUFFMANN** ON FILMS: MADNESS IN GREAT ONES Alan Bennett's play about King George III is newly vivid on the screen.

30 **ROBERT BRUSTEIN** ON THEATER: INTELLECT INTO PASSION Tony Kushner's nimble, and emotional, *Slavs*; Tom Stoppard's flashy but icy *Hapgood*.

32 **JOSEPH J. ELLIS** FOUNDING BROTHERS *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison 1776-1826* edited by James Morton Smith

36 **ANTHONY GRAFTON** SPEAKING VOLUMES *God's Plagiarist* by R. Howard Bloch

38 **PETER VIERECK** POEM *In Awe of Marriage*

40 **RONALD RADOSH** SPANISH ILLUSIONS *The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade* by Peter N. Carroll

46 **NADER MOUSAVIZADEH** COPENHAGEN DIARIST: SANCTUARY

Editor-in-Chief and Chairman
MARTIN PERETZ

Editor
ANDREW SULLIVAN

Literary Editor
LEON WIESELTIER

Executive Editor
DAVID SHIPLEY

Senior Editors
FRED BARNES, ANN HULBERT, MICKEY KAUS, MICHAEL KINSLEY, WESTON KOSOVA, CHARLES LANE, MICHAEL LEWIS, ROBERT WRIGHT

Managing Editor
DAVID GREENBERG

Films
STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Theater
ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Poetry
MARY JO SALTER

Dance
MINDY ALOFF

Legal Affairs
JEFFREY ROSEN

Art
JED PERL

Contributing Editors
ELIOT A. COHEN, STANLEY CROUCH, ANNA HUSARSKA, JOHN B. JUDIS, CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER, VINT LAWRENCE, LOUIS MENAND, ROGER ROSENBLATT, MAGGIE SCARF, ROBERT SHAPIRO, RONALD STEEL, E. V. THAW, TOM TOLES, TATYANA TOLSTAYA, MICHAEL WALZER, JACOB WEISBERG, C. VANN WOODWARD

Associate Editor
RUTH SHALIT

Assistant Literary Editor
NADER MOUSAVIZADEH

Assistant Editor
AMY KNOX SHEFFER

Design Consultant
ERIC BAKER

Editorial-Corporate Coordinator
LAURA E. OBOLENSKY

Production Director
BRUCE STEINKE

Production Assistant
HENRY RIGGS

Copy Editor
DEBRA DUROCHER

Staff Writer
HANNA ROSIN

Reporter-Researchers
JENNIFER BRADLEY, ANDY LAMEY, DANTE RAMOS

President
JEFFREY L. DEARTH

Publisher
JOAN M. STAPLETON

Associate Publisher-Marketing
PAUL J. VIZZA

Associate Publisher-Circulation
PEGGY JARVIS FERRIN

Associate Publisher-Advertising
JAMES J. McCABE

Controller
JEAN GANDY

Advertising Director
JENNIFER BARRETT

Accounting Manager
CHRISTINA R. BONIFER

Circulation Manager
CECELIA M. STEPHENS

Advertising Assistant
DIANE M. SEBOLD

Accounting Assistant
JACQUELYN M. PASCALE

New York Coordinator
SUZANNE McENTEE

Circulation Assistant
CAROLYN BERRY

Back Issues and Reception
DORIS RIDLEY

THE NEW REPUBLIC, Vol. 212, Number 5, Issue 4,176, January 30, 1995. (Printed in the U.S. on January 11, 1995.) Published weekly (except for combined issues dated Jan. 9 & 16, July 17 & 24, Aug. 21 & 28, and Sept. 18 & 25, 1995) at 1220 19th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Telephone (202) 331-7494. The New Republic Advertising Sales Office (212) 702-4882. Yearly subscriptions, $69.97; foreign, $99.97; Canada, $84.97. Back issues, $3.50 (includes postage & handling). © 1995 by The New Republic, Inc. (ISSN 0028-6583). Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Readers' Guide, Media Review Digest. Microform, CD-ROM, issue and article copies are available through University Microfilms Intnl., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Telephone 1-800-521-0600. Internet mail address: editors@tnr.com Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. Unsolicited manuscripts can be returned only if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Subscribers: Please send all remittances, changes of address, and subscription inquiries to Subscription Service Dept., The New Republic, P.O. Box 602, Mount Morris, IL 61054. For subscription problems call 800-827-1289. **CORRECTION: The January 23, 1995, issue should have read Volume 212, Number 4, Issue 4,175, Printed in the U.S. on December 21, 1994, instead of Volume 212, Number 3, Issue 4,174, Printed in the U.S. on December 21, 1995.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POETRY:
The Unsayable Said

Poetry is talk altered into art,
speech slowed down and
attended to, words arranged
for the reader who contracts
to read them for their whole heft
of association and noise.
DONALD HALL

Send for
a free copy of
Poetry: The Unsayable Said,
a chapbook by Donald Hall,
published by Copper Canyon
Press in support of
our national campaign
aimed at increasing
the visibility of poetry
throughout
our culture.

COPPER
CANYON
PRESS

P.O. BOX 271
PORT TOWNSEND
WASHINGTON
98368

Major marketing initiatives have been made possible by the Lila Wallace–Reader's Digest Literary Publishers Marketing Development Program, funded through a grant to the Council of Literary Magazines and Presses.
Calligraphy by Tim Girvin.

CORRESPONDENCE

Leave my husband alone

To the editors:

I am at a loss to understand the motive behind your vituperative attack on the peacekeeping efforts of the Carter Center and on my husband personally ("Merry Christmas, Mr. Karadzić," The Editors, January 9 & 16). The Carter Center analyzes the world's conflicts and offers its services only when both sides are willing to seek a peaceful resolution of a crisis. We have undertaken these missions only with the approval of our nation's leaders, and we are meticulously careful that our efforts are compatible with American policy.

In the case of North Korea, the commitments made to us by President Kim Il Sung, later confirmed to President Clinton, have been the foundation of an agreement that has, so far, defused the crisis and may resolve a nuclear threat. In Haiti, we monitored the elections, and both President Aristide and General Cedras urged the Carter Center for three years to mediate. On the brink of an armed invasion, we helped find a compromise that resulted in a peaceful entry of our forces and the return of President Aristide. In Bosnia, after thirty-two months of atrocities and bloodshed, we concluded an agreement that resulted in an immediate opening of relief supply deliveries throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, a temporary cease-fire and commitments by both sides to take further steps toward peace.

We have attempted to find peaceful alternatives to armed combat. This often requires consultation with leaders who have been condemned by our people and the international community. In no case do we condone human rights violations that these people have committed. But such atrocities are dramatically reduced in a peaceful environment. I cannot understand TNR's condemnation of such practices.

ROSALYNN CARTER
Plains, Georgia

Wild thing

To the editors:

Kevin Wildes does as much disservice to phenomenology as to the pope in his analysis of the pontiff's intellectual work ("In the Name of the Father," December 26, 1994). He says the method of phenomenology consists in accumulating more and more perceptions of an object, thus letting the truth come to light. Phenomenology does recognize that things can be identified in various views, and that such profiles help disclose the thing. But it also insists some views are merely accidental or subjective. Some experiences give a distorted view of an object and would shatter rather than confirm it; not every appearance is genuine.

There are limits to the way beliefs and practices in the Catholic Church can be defined; not every perspective or interpretation is authentic. The issue is whether the proposed view coheres with the Scriptures and the tradition. There may be conflicts in interpretation, but resolutions are possible, sometimes by thinkers or saints, sometimes by authoritative interventions by councils, bishops or the papacy. Wildes's use of phenomenology to explain away the pope's teaching does lead to a "wacky modernism," as TNR's cover states, but it is not that of the pope.

ROBERT SOKOLOWSKI
Washington, D.C.

Not a disease

To the editors:

The editorial "Clinton and AIDS" (December 26, 1994) promised to tell the truth about AIDS. It did not.

It referred to AIDS as a disease. It isn't. AIDS is a *syndrome* of twenty-nine previously known and unrelated maladies, from Kaposi's sarcoma to cervical cancer, thought to be linked by the mysterious retrovirus HIV. There is no single study that proves this connection; nor is there any study showing how HIV causes a breakdown of the immune system.

Your editorial claimed that "increasing numbers of people [are] getting infected with HIV and dying of AIDS." Wrong again. In 1994 the National Center for Health Statistics *reduced* the estimated number of HIV-positive Americans from 1 million to 650,000, or roughly one in 400. The latest *AIDS Surveillance Report for San Francisco* (November 1994) shows that the number of San Francisco's AIDS cases has declined 87 percent since March 1992.

CHARLES L. GESHEKTER
Chico, California

White male bashing

To the editors:

Deborah A. Stone's review of Linda Gordon's *Pitied But Not Entitled* ("Of Alms and the Woman," December 26, 1994) is a mishmash of feminist propaganda, misreading of reality and white-male bashing. I am a white man raised by a single mother, because my father died

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when I was 7. I am glad my mother practiced standards of "good motherhood," with middle-class diets, standards and household space, all of which Stone seems to deprecate. Our family benefited from Social Security survivors' benefits, which were available only because there was not a male breadwinner present. The rule was exactly the same for ADC payments.

The program rules did not, as Stone puts it, "forbid full-time factory employment." They simply stated that anyone who had full-time factory employment was not also eligible for ADC grants; if they were, virtually everyone in the country would be eligible. Nor did the "rules" keep women away from high-paying jobs. The program was designed to help those who did not have high-paying jobs.

"Linking up with a man" was not forbidden; the rules stated that if there was a man in a woman's life, he had a duty to support her. Again, without such an exception, every family in the country would be eligible.

DEMPSTER K. HOLLAND
St. Louis, Missouri

Disgorged

To the editors:

Your December 26, 1994, Notebook takes aim at the $1.15 million obtained by Senator Mark Hatfield for the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area. We wish you had investigated the park before writing off this investment as "pork."

For seventy-nine years, citizens of Oregon and Washington have worked to protect the scenic beauty and natural resources of the Columbia River Gorge. In 1986 Congress enacted the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area Act, which has protected the gorge from population growth, urban sprawl and lack of regard for natural systems. Federal funds to purchase sensitive scenic and natural resource lands for protection through public ownership are critical to the act's success. Labeling these important programs as "pork" endangers the future of a national treasure.

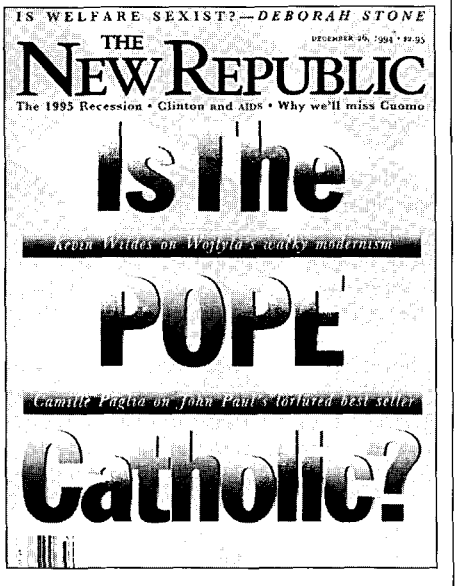
LAURI G. AUNAN
Portland, Oregon

Final bell?

To the editors:

The malevolence of Robert Wright's TRB attack on Charles Murray in the January 2 TNR compels me to write to set straight the record on the writing of *The Bell Curve*. As the wife of Richard J. Herrnstein, I was exposed to this joint venture day in and day out for years, but I was also my husband's assistant in his office and witnessed there, too, how this scholarly collaboration worked. My husband was often asked how he and Charles divided up the work on the book, and his answer was always along these lines—we have passed sections and chapters back and forth so much, we don't know whose writing is the final copy. Even the drafting of the original chapters was not divided up in an obvious way—it depended on who was reading and researching a particular topic at a particular time; not on who had written on that topic in the past. It was a complete collaboration, and there is absolutely no foundation to suggest anything else.

Since this is my first and I hope only public response, I will indulge myself with one more remark. Throughout all


IS WELFARE SEXIST?—DEBORAH STONE
THE NEW REPUBLIC
DECEMBER 26, 1994 • $2.95
The 1995 Recession • Clinton and AIDS • Why we'll miss Cuomo
Is the
Kevin Wildes on Wojtyla's wacky modernism
POPE
Camille Paglia on John Paul's tortured best seller
Catholic?

those years, I never heard either one of them jokingly or seriously refer to someone or some idea as a "dumb bell." That kind of title or remark is at best clever, but it lowers the discussion to a hurtful, unscholarly level and reflects poorly on Wright, not on Charles or the book. As for Charles's misstatement on the Kinsley show, he can handle that with no help from me. I and my family are grateful to Charles for his honest and thoughtful explication of the book. It would have been nice if he and my husband could have defended it together, but we were not given the choice.

SUSAN HERRNSTEIN
Cambridge, Massachusetts

To the editors:

In his column, "Dumb Bell," Robert Wright quotes me as follows:

"When I—when we—say 60 percent heritability, it's not 60 percent of the variation. It is 60 percent of the I.Q. in any given person."

He uses this question as the takeoff for his diatribe. But he put a period where none existed. The sentence actually continued, "except even that, technically, has a problem associated with it, because [unintelligible]." Then I said:

"First critical point is your I.Q. may have been determined overwhelmingly by genes or it may have been—yours personally—or overwhelmingly by environment. This can vary a lot from individual to individual. In the human species as a whole, you have a large genetic component, O.K.? I don't understand what the nature of the problem is that you're asking about."

It was essential that Wright not mention this material. He could have played fair and still written a column mocking my ineptness on the Kinsley show. But he could not have written the savage attack that followed in the next three paragraphs.

"Savage" is the right word, I think. Spooky is another.

CHARLES MURRAY
Burkittsville, Maryland

Robert Wright replies:

Charles Murray's letter is yet more proof of his confusion. He seems to think that the plainly incorrect definition of heritability he gave on T.V.—"it's not 60 percent of the variation . . . [but] 60 percent of the I.Q. in any given person"—is somehow vindicated by his subsequent elaboration: that, actually, he doesn't mean *any* given person, just the *average* person. But it doesn't matter which he meant. Both are wrong. The *only* thing .6 heritability means is that 60 percent of the *variation* in I.Q. among individuals is explained by genetic variation among them. The question of how "much" of an *individual's* I.Q. is "determined" by genes—whether a "given" individual's or the "average" individual's—is (*a*) not answerable by heritability studies, and (*b*) not answerable, even in principle, by any other empirical method; in scientific terms, it is literally a meaningless question. Every sophisticated geneticist knows this. And by the way: I did, after quoting Murray, go on to paraphrase his position as referring to the "average person," not to every person. So much for his claim that it was "essential" for my purposes that I misled readers on this point.

To the editors:

In response to Andrew Sullivan's complaint that liberals are "scornful of arguments" about *The Bell Curve* ("Some Speculation," Washington Diarist, December 12, 1994), there's an old Jewish proverb: Never argue with a fool in public, for passersby may not know who's who.

WALTER B. LEVIS
New York, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRB®

FROM WASHINGTON

Devolution blues

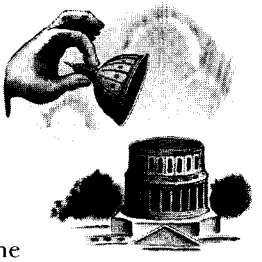
I admit, I've never liked the idea of states. *Perhaps this is un-American of me.* But it's hard to finish law school with much affection for the genius of our federalism. Indeed, as Michael Kinsley once pointed out, half of the three-year course of legal education could be eliminated if prospective attorneys didn't have to learn the pointless complexities of a system in which one federal and fifty state "sovereignties" compete with each other over who can sue whom, where and under whose rules. The country would be better off, I've always thought, if it were divided into ten numbered sectors.

American conservatives, in particular, have been burdened by a federalism fetish. It prevented many of them from joining the midcentury civil rights crusade that incoming Speaker Newt Gingrich hailed in his opening address. Federalism also helped create the current welfare mess: the 1935 Congress would undoubtedly have banned cash aid to unwed mothers if conservatives hadn't insisted the question be left to the states. Now Republican states'-rights mongering threatens to derail what should be one of the Gingrich Congress's great achievements: reforming that same welfare system.

Remember the Contract with America? It was going to "discourage illegitimacy and teen pregnancy by prohibiting welfare to minor mothers ... and enact a tough two-years-and-out provision with work requirements." States would be required to have 1.5 million recipients working by the year 2001 (about one-third of the total caseload). Many people, myself included, thought some of these provisions were too harsh. But in its radical sweep the bill at least matched the scope of the problem, which, Gingrich never tired of saying, was the "culture of poverty" sustained by welfare.

Don't bother memorizing those contract provisions, though. Most have now been junked, in the name of "devolution": sending power "back to where it came from and belongs, back to the people and their state governments," as George Will put it in *Newsweek*. On January 9, Gingrich backed off two of the contract's main clauses: the cutoff of aid to legal aliens and the cutoff for young unwed mothers. (Gingrich had been in office for, what, five days? If he keeps disowning the contract's clauses at this rate, he'll be to the left of Clinton before the weekend is over.) The work requirement, too, is apparently about to be dropped. Instead, if current negotiations between House Republicans and Republican governors succeed, welfare will be made a "block grant," with the money given to the states, which will fashion their own welfare programs. The feds will simply "audit" the results.

Why the rush to send welfare to the states? Well, there are principled reasons. Congress makes "one-size-fits-all rules," complains Michigan's GOP governor, John Engler. The argument is that what's good for reducing the welfare-based underclass in Michigan won't work in, say, Florida. But the forces responsible for creating the underclass—segregation, the migration of jobs and the middle class from the cities to the suburbs, the welfare explosion—are virtually the same everywhere. Nor is "one-size-fits-all" necessarily bad. Social Security is a "one-size" program. It's run entirely out of Washington (by one bureaucracy rather than fifty). Benefits are set nationally. Out of federalist principle, should we turn it into a block grant so Engler can fiddle with it?



A better explanation for the current devolutionary fervor is that it offers everyone a face-saving way to escape the draconian provisions of the contract. Governors (even Republicans) hate the contract, in part because it would leave them with the costly job of taking care of all the mothers and children cut from the welfare rolls. (It is, in this sense, a giant "unfunded mandate.") The Clinton administration, for its part, is quite happy to let the Republican governors do the work of demolishing the GOP's governing document. Even House Republicans are not necessarily displeased to see the contract go, now that they've had time to actually read it.

The only problem is that—save for a single factor—devolution of welfare is a lousy idea. It means, for one thing, ending the principle that welfare benefits are an "entitlement," for which poor families automatically qualify. Entitlements have drawbacks—thanks to the Supreme Court, they come attached to a lot of legalistic "due process." But they have advantages, too: they prevent favoritism, and they allow a program to expand automatically during recessions. I'd argue that there should be an entitlement to work, rather than to cash. But if aid to the poor becomes a "block grant," that means it becomes "discretionary," which means Congress can, and probably will, cut it during each year's budget crunch.

There is also a danger that governors will go wild, ending all aid, cutting off the disabled, etc. But there is a greater danger they won't go wild enough. Governors are not radical reformers. They tend to resist anything that might require a state tax increase—and making welfare recipients work, in particular, is quite expensive (at least $5,000 per recipient for child care, supervisors and tools). One of the main reasons the governors want "devolution" is precisely to get out from under the work requirement of the contract. Will they adopt costly work programs when there is no extra money from Washington to pay for them—when even their fixed block grant is subject to annual cuts? No. Most will continue the current welfare system with minor modifications. Remember, only three or four governors have proposed statewide changes that are as bold as the two-years-and-work regime Clinton wants to impose nationwide.

Devolution is not in itself reform. It might save money, but it won't break the "culture of poverty." What excuse can there be for avoiding a national solution to that national problem? Ignorance is the only excuse. Precisely because reforms in the states have been so incremental, nobody is really sure what effect radical changes will have. Are large numbers of welfare mothers simply incapable of working? Will cutoffs cause massive homelessness? Can "community service" work programs avoid becoming boondoggles?

We need the answers to those questions, quickly. There is no assurance that the governors, left to themselves, will give them to us. If we need to test out various reform schemes, then Congress should make sure that they in fact get tested. Require, or induce, several states to try a broad "workfare" requirement. Get at least one state to try Clinton's two-years-and-work plan, and one state the contract's two-years-and-you're-off plan. Let one state (not ten) try Charles Murray's plan and one state try Marian Wright Edelman's plan. Let the national government provide enough money to give each scheme a chance, and let Congress then impose nationally the plan that works best. The underclass problem is too important to be left to the states.

MICKEY KAUS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

JANUARY 30, 1995

PARTNERS IN CRIME

The initial objective of Bill Clinton's policy on Russia was a "strategic partnership" between America and Boris Yeltsin's country. The values and interests of the two nations, it was thought, were so fundamentally coincident that we could exercise a kind of joint stewardship over trouble spots in Europe and the Middle East. After the rise of Vladimir Zhirinovsky in December 1993, the goal was adjusted downward to "pragmatic partnership" to hedge against a nasty turn in Russian behavior, but it was still assumed we would see eye to eye with Moscow more often than not.

Now, at the start of the Clinton administration's third year, a steady trend toward nationalist reassertion by the Yeltsin government has culminated in the appalling Russian assault on Chechnya—and the appallingly blithe American toleration of it. Manifestly, American and Russian values do not coincide, even if our interests in this region do not exactly clash. A new policy, or at least a new policy buzzword, is sure to follow. But what new policy? It all depends on learning the right lessons from the Chechnya debacle.

The first one, paradoxically, is that Russia really has changed since the fall of communism—and largely in ways that, over the long term, favor Western interests. It turns out that Russian citizens do not have an ingrained need to dominate non-Russians of the "near abroad." Instead, informed and encouraged by free media and a surprisingly mature Parliament, some have bravely demonstrated outrage at the waste of lives and money in Chechnya. A civil society does exist in Russia. It even extends into the Russian army, some of whose soldiers have conscientiously refused to fight. Also good for the West is the fact that this army turns out to be even more poorly trained, led and equipped than we had guessed.

So far, Yeltsin has tolerated the democratic outburst his own blunder has prompted—a blessing we shouldn't forget to count. But his loyal "power ministries" of defense, interior and intelligence are the ones most staffed by the flotsam and jetsam of "Weimar Russia": generals, spies, industrial commissars and incompetents inclined toward fantasies about a reborn Russian superpower, blind mistrust of the West, intrigue and disinformation. These are the folks with whom Yeltsin hatched the foray into Chechnya. Yes, we can still do business with them, particularly when it is in our interest to do so—such as paying for the dismantling of the ex-Soviet nuclear arsenal. No, we should not isolate or unduly antagonize Russia, or abandon what influence we have purchased there.

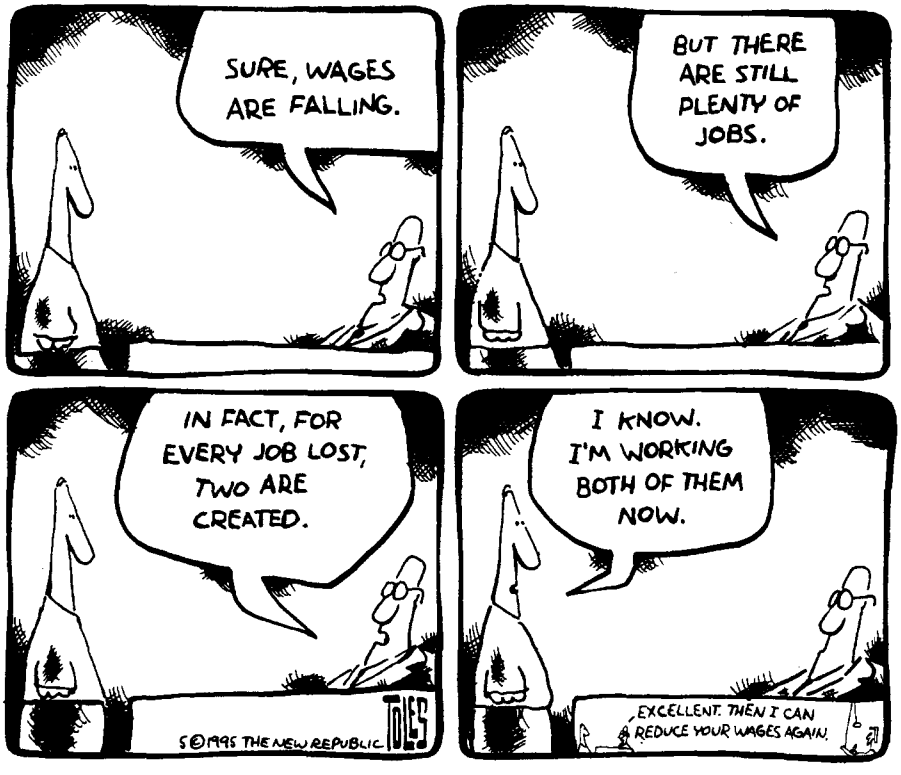
But we could at least speak the truth about the place. And, in its statements about Chechnya, our government has clearly failed to do so, and placed itself on the wrong side of the breach between Russia's elite and Russia's civil society. It's not the first time something like this has happened. As the cold war wound down, the United States sought to preserve the territorial integrity of the Soviet empire (and, for a time, Yugoslavia, too) and hence the "relationship" with the supposedly stabilizing Communist elite that ran it. The policy faltered when the actions (and inactions) of that elite itself became destabilizing. Just as Yeltsin's army seems bent on destroying Grozny in order to liberate it, American support for democracy in Russia has come to mean support for the elected government even when it behaves undemocratically.

The result is a wasting of American moral authority, which is the unique asset we bring to the project of democratizing the former Soviet empire. If the long-run stability of Russia and the success of our policy there hinge on its assimilation of democratic norms, as Clinton administration officials rightly contend, then we are not doing them or ourselves any favors by indulging this adventure in the Caucasus. We must begin rather to reward and punish Russia's leaders—however they have been chosen—according to how democratically they act. We must treat Russia less as a presumptive "partner" and more as a "normal" power from whose values and interests ours are likely to diverge. This may actually be the best way to help the civil society represented by Russian citizens protesting the war in Chechnya, and Russian soldiers refusing to fight it. *They* are our partners. •

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTEBOOK

SIC TRANSIT: Former Ku Klux Klan member and Louisiana legislator David Duke said the midterm elections show that "the country is moving in my direction.... Senator Gramm and Mr. Buchanan and Jack Kemp are all sounding like David Duke." Newt Gingrich fired his chosen house historian after learning that she criticized a junior high school Holocaust curriculum in 1986 for not presenting "the Nazi point of view." Representative Dan Burton demanded that President Clinton reimburse the Treasury money used to fund the Socks mail operation, which replies to letters written to the White House cat. Bill Clinton said, "This idea that there's some battle for my soul is the biggest bunch of hooey I ever saw. I know who I am." A New York court ruled that Wal-Mart has the right to forbid workers from dating one another. Mohamed Jubara said he hijacked a plane while on his honeymoon because it was the only way he could think of to get his bride to Cairo. Fidelity Investments explained to shareholders of the Magellan Fund that they would not receive a promised year-end share payment because an accountant mistakenly deleted a minus sign while doing a tax calculation, recording a $1.3 billion loss as a $1.3 billion gain. "Stop the Insanity" infomercial host Susan Powter filed for bankruptcy. Bill Clinton's horoscope said, "Memories of past prove unproductive."


SURE, WAGES ARE FALLING.
BUT THERE ARE STILL PLENTY OF JOBS.
IN FACT, FOR EVERY JOB LOST, TWO ARE CREATED.
I KNOW. I'M WORKING BOTH OF THEM NOW.
EXCELLENT. THEN I CAN REDUCE YOUR WAGES AGAIN.
©1995 THE NEW REPUBLIC
TOLES

GINGRICH SUCK-UP WATCH I: "As an unabashed liberal—and a black one to boot—I was astonished last Wednesday to find myself concluding that Speaker Newt Gingrich's maiden oratory was moving me more than any political statement I'd heard since LBJ introduced the Voting Rights Act almost thirty years ago."—Roger Wilkins, *The Washington Post*, January 10

GINGRICH SUCK-UP WATCH II: "For now, Gingrich dominates the day and captures the imagination as no leader has since Ronald Reagan. It's all Newt now; his whips and leaders seem less like chiefs in the making than acolytes and satellites."—Peggy Noonan, "Bliss To Be Alive," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 9

GINGRICHITE SUCK-UP WATCH: "He is a man whose very physical presence seems to say, 'Live and let live.' As well as: 'Have some more champagne.' He loves to cook ... and to eat and to throw parties and to drink good wine. He has an amiable, amused voice that slips in and out of a faint English accent, the result of British parents and an American life. His voice, as a matter of fact, is not unlike a good veal stock, rich and unctuous."—Michael Kelly on Gingrich Press Secretary Tony Blankley, *The New Yorker*, January 9

CRIME NEWS:

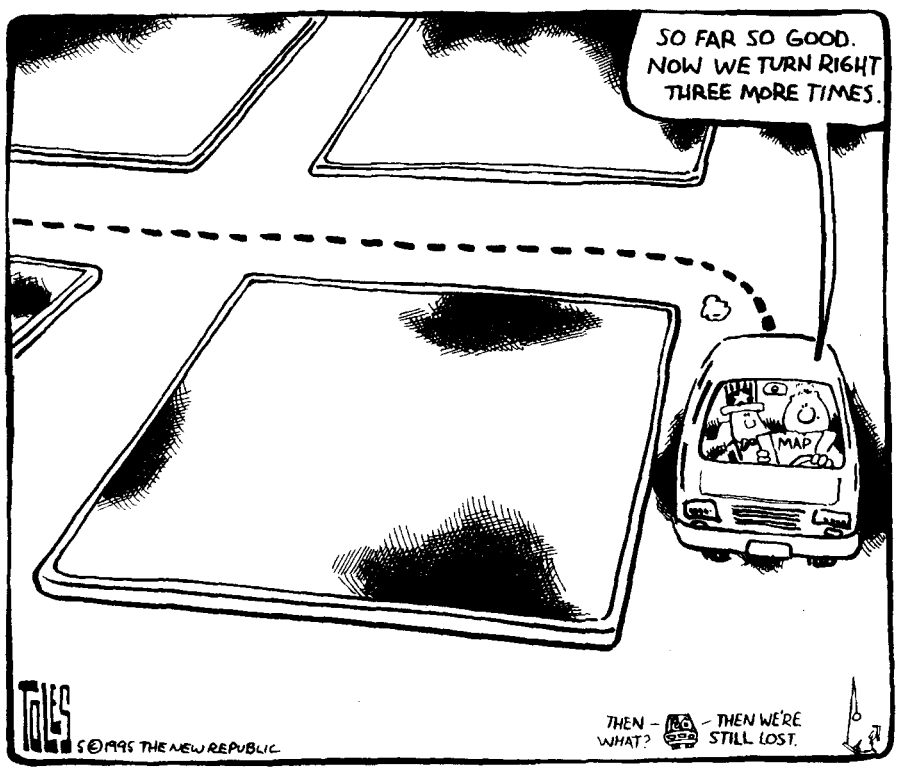
Victims are sure losers in slaying cases

—*San Diego Union Tribune*, January 2
(Thanks to Roger LaBrucherie, Pine Valley, California.)

MR. SPEAKER, CALL THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS: Newt Gingrich likes to brandish the *Federalist Papers*, but he doesn't appear to have read them. On the first day of the new session, the Republicans railroaded through an amendment to the House rules requiring a three-fifths vote to enact laws that increase income taxes. They conspicuously ignored a letter to Speaker Gingrich drafted by Bruce Ackerman of Yale Law School and signed by some of the country's best constitutional scholars arguing that the amendment "violates the explicit intentions of the Framers as expressed in the *Federalist Papers*." In Federalist No. 58,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Madison rejected the notion that "more than a majority" should be required for legislative business. "The fundamental principle of free government would be reversed," Madison argued. "It would be no longer the majority that would rule; the power would be transferred to the minority." In Federalist No. 22, Hamilton, too, defended a decision to reject the supermajority requirements of the Articles of Confederation, insisting the ordinary legislation should not "give a minority a negative upon the majority." Gingrich and his colleagues, however, showed no interest in the constitutional objections—which were frenetically summarized by House Democrats in an eight-minute debate—and passed the rule change along a straight party line. Now they propose to compound the damage by including a supermajority requirement for raising taxes in their balanced budget amendment. None of the above objections apply, of course, to a constitutional amendment; but why amend the Constitution in a way the Founders clearly opposed?



SEASONAL BOREDOM:

Prisoners face Christmas in cells

—*The Age* of Australia, December 16, 1994

Drunk driving discouraged this weekend

—*Standard Democrat*, Missouri, December 30, 1994

January could be cold unless thaw comes early

—*Detroit Free Press*, January 3, 1994

(Thanks to Lori Meyer of Glen Iris, Australia, Steve Mosley of Sikeston, Missouri, and Donald Montgomery of Okemos, Michigan.)

UNIQUELY QUALIFIED: Why does *The New York Times*'s Barbara Crossette want Boutros Boutros-Ghali to get a second term as secretary-general of the United Nations? Beats us. Crossette makes this marginal figure in Egyptian diplomacy into an architect of the Camp David Accords in an article of January 3. She even grants BBG the promotion denied him by Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak: she says he was foreign minister of Egypt when, in fact, he held the more ceremonial post of minister of state for foreign affairs. More important, the bureaucrat is turned into a philosopher of history, someone "uniquely qualified to foster reconciliation" between North and South. Thus, the man who shunned intervention in Bosnia, and who bungled the Bosnia affair only to advocate intervention in Somalia because of a grudge he had against the brigand Mohammed Farah Aidid, is let completely off the hook. Instead, we're encouraged to pity a man "isolated in his tower, stripped of his privacy and the ability to conduct quiet diplomacy." The clincher is the man's future plan for a second term: "I still have two years to make up my mind. We'll see what happens next year." That bit of nonsense goes unexamined by Crossette. In fact, Boutros-Ghali's campaign is in full-gear. The only hitch would come from opposition to him either by the United States or by the large majority of Muslim states bent on punishing him for his callous disregard of the Bosnians. Crossette was back at it three days later. This time, she was the conduit for a quiet campaign begun by Boutros-Ghali to lift the sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. What has gotten into this often superb reporter? She's beginning to resemble the placid journalists BBG left behind in the Middle East.

CORRECTION: In a January 2 article on Tony Coelho by Ruth Shalit, the following quotation was incorrectly attributed to former Coelho staffer Martin Franks: "We looked at the list of the guys who were giving too much to the Republicans. And we basically gave them the come-to-Jesus message. 'We know who you are. You've been cavorting with the devil. But understand something here. We're in power. And I suggest you deal with us. Or at least . . . cover your tail." Bill Cable, a Democratic lobbyist who worked with Coelho during the 1980s, made the statement. Shalit regrets the error. •

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Courses you might have missed.

MIDTERM ADDENDA

By Eric Preven and Joshua Preven

Undergraduates are advised to review the following list of additions and corrections to the Course Catalog.

Additions:

Statistics 209. Methods of Computations 4398
Leslie Marvins
A survey of computing methods used in statistics. The course will focus on applied and theoretical statistics (e.g., polynomial regression, optimization). Some attention will also be paid to trivial statistics (e.g., longest recorded femur, world's heaviest twins, most coins swallowed in one gulp).
Half Course (winter term). Tu-Th, 2-3:30.

Interdisciplinary Studies 119. Cinema and the Law 4312
J.J. Walton
The course will examine four films—*Europa, Europa*; *Olivier, Olivier*; *Corrina, Corrina*; and *Jamon, Jamon*—with an eye toward a possible lawsuit.
Half Course (spring term). M-W, 9-10:30.

Political Science 2000. Schmoozing the Despot 2543
Vance Leyward
In his seminal *Negotiations*, Arthur Hunt suggests: "When a treaty is first presented, clutch your chest as if having a heart attack, pause dramatically, then burst out laughing." This technique will be evaluated against more traditional methods of diplomacy, such as collective bargaining, flirting and the use of fresh baked goods.
Half Course (winter term). Tu-Th, 1:00.

English 90. Moisture and the Medieval Pillow 3753
Nell Samaria
The seminar studies images of dampness in medieval popular ballads, with special attention paid to Gower's *Whu Ha' Moissened Me Pillowwe, Ye Nummbeskulle?*
Enrollment: Limited to fifteen.
Half Course (spring term). Tu, 2-4.

Anthropology 182. Fastidious Tribes of South America 0371
Eleanor Skrine
One primitive tribe of Peru has an aversion to mud, which makes its ancient custom of dwelling in mud huts unfortunate. No sooner has a domicile been erected than it is furiously sponged back into the ground. This phenomenon will be studied in connection with other cleaning rituals thought to promote fertility, including the permanent removal of lint.
Half Course (winter term). Tu-Th, 11:00.

History 1623. Windbags since the 19th Century 6561
Johanna Pell
Beginning with Xavier Punch, who delivered a seventeen-day filibuster to the Louisiana State Senate in 1809, this course examines a long tradition of lousy orators—myself included. Oral history will figure prominently, and students will be required to write it down.
Prerequisite: A proven interest in public office.
Full Course (long term). M-Sat, 8-12:30.

Film Studies 256. The Latvian Cinema 2002
Elizabeth Smyth
Why do Minski's films always open with a minor character bellowing or scampering around? Why do they close with someone snooping? These questions will be addressed through a combination of lectures, foot rubs and fuzzy compliments.
Half Course (spring term). Fri, 3-6.

General Education 1060. Anti-Semitism 3321
Gunther Matthews
Ever since Nebuchadnezzar first blamed the Jews for humidity (581 B.C.), that group has suffered countless tribulations. But why is it *large-scale* problems for which Jews are blamed? Why not trifling misfortunes such as chafe or static cling?
Half Course (winter term). M-W, 10-11:30.

Corrections:

Comp. Lit. 164. The Novel and the Twerp has been postponed until the spring term.

The wait list for **Pop. Culture 17. Flip Wilson, Auteur** has been filled.

The writing requirements for **Expos. 10, The Poem as Noisy Performance** have been canceled.

The course description for **Gov. 10, Heads of State** was printed incompletely. There should be a final sentence that reads: "Explores the consequences for the statesman of pitching face forward into a smorgasbord."

Indemnification cards are now available at the Registrar's Office for **Corporal Punishment 105. Caning, Pinching and Poking**.

ERIC PREVEN is a screenwriter living in Los Angeles. JOSHUA PREVEN is completing his Ph.D. at Trinity College, Cambridge.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUCKING IN THE '70s

By Chris Bonastia

Look around New York City: it seems that everyone is sporting some flavor of suede sneakers that were popular in the '70s. Puma Clydes seem to be the most popular; Adidas Campus are my personal throwback shoes of choice. Just as I learned growing up in the '70s, I take out my toothbrush twice a day, and brush my sneakers.

Other sartorial staples of the Me Decade have also made a comeback here: Levi's corduroys, Elton Johnian platform shoes, Six-Million-Dollar Man T-shirts ... you can find them all here in the Big Apple. In fact, it seems that just about the only '70s relic that hasn't resurfaced in New York is the relentless onslaught over the radio waves of songs like Bachman Turner Overdrive's "You Ain't Seen Nothin' Yet." But no doubt that's on its way, too. After all, New York is the sole market in the top ten *not* to have a radio station devoted exclusively to playing the sounds of the '70s.

© PolyGram Records Inc.

It was just over a year ago that KCBS in Los Angeles switched from a traditional oldies station to the "Arrow"—a near-acronym for "All Rock 'n' Roll Oldies." Arrow sneaks in a few hits from the late '60s and early '80s, but the wide majority of its playlist is reserved for '70s rock 'n' roll. Arrow L.A. was the first '70s station to make it big, and stations in other cities soon turned '70s. CBS now owns '70s-leaning stations in Washington, Dallas, Houston and Detroit, and licenses the name "Arrow" in numerous other markets.

What's on the Arrow? A promotional tape distributed by Arrow D.C. promises "lots of rock 'n' roll hits from the '70s ... without any head-banging heavy metal or bubble-gum oldies." The tape also lets us in on "the special spice in the Arrow recipe: you'll hear songs that other radio stations don't play." In the montage that follows, we hear snippets of gems such as the Electric Light Orchestra's "Don't Bring Me Down," Wings' "Jet," Elton John's "Benny and the Jets," Supertramp's "Give a Little Bit" and Gary Glitter's "Rock 'n' Roll, Part II." Admittedly, I haven't heard some of these tunes in a long time, and I might even get a kick out of hearing "Jet." But what's "Rock 'n' Roll, Part II" doing on this list? Other radio stations may not play it, but every sports arena in the country blasts that obnoxious song during the fourth quarter of basketball games to get the crowd pumped.

For those who need hits from the '70s to keep them pumped all day, there are now approximately twenty-five such stations in the top fifty radio markets. Many of these had been floundering "adult contemporary" stations. Radio programmers tend to follow the latest trend in the field, especially when it is being led by an entertainment giant such as CBS.

As an alternative to the Arrow-type '70s rock 'n' roll format, some stations lean more toward '70s pop-rock. Neither of the '70s formats is a radical departure from more established formats, in concept or in execution. Conceptually, '70s stations are in many ways a natural extension of the "oldies" stations that began to flourish in the '80s. Oldies once meant Roy Orbison and doo-wop. Then it meant the Beatles and the Beach Boys. Now it means Peter Frampton and Jimmy Buffett. In short, a new generation has come of age, and wants to hear only the music it listened to before it reached the legal drinking age.

With regard to playlists, '70s formats dovetail with other formats. San Francisco's KABL-FM, which uses the '70s pop-rock recipe, went on the air in February 1994 playing roughly 20 percent of the same titles as the classic rock station in town, according to KABL Program Director Gerry McCracken. A typical sampling might include Chicago's "Saturday in the Park," Manfred Mann's "Blinded by the Light," the Eagles' "Life in the Fast Lane" and Stevie Wonder's "I Wish." Since KABL debuted, the classic rock station "has moved closer to us," McCracken said; he estimated that the two stations now share 40 percent of titles and 80 percent of artists.

The distinctions among Arrow stations, pop-rock stations and regular classic rock stations are, admittedly, subtle. Craig Ashwood, the program director of Arrow 94.7 F.M. in Washington, explained it this way: all three types of stations would be likely to play a song such as "Beast of Burden" by the Rolling Stones. The next song, however, might be the Steve Miller Band's "Jet Airliner" on an Arrow-type station; James Taylor's "Your Smiling Face" on a pop-rock station; and Pink Floyd's "Wish You Were Here" on a classic rock station.

Or to think of it another way: while many classic rock stations would play a new song by an old group, such as the Stones, a '70s station would be loath to dip into the new *Voodoo Lounge* album. Listeners, Ashwood said,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"want to hear 'Brown Sugar.'" These stations have found, however, that listeners do not want '70s-type contests or history tidbits (remember the oil crisis?) from twenty years ago. "That would be goofy," McCracken noted.

So why is the '70s format suddenly so popular? It has nothing to do with the ironic mock-nostalgia that lets "Charlie's Angels" lunchboxes pass for cool; it's not an example of sly self-awareness about one of the more bizarre decades in American history. Just look at the types of folks who are tuning in to the overly earnest '70s stations. It isn't the retro-'70s fashion plates in the platform shoes, hip huggers and mega-collar shirts—except maybe to listen to the disco blocks some stations play on weekend nights (disco isn't welcome in the regular mix). Nor is the audience made up of kitsch-loving fans of "Brady Bunch" reruns. No, for the most part, the people listening to these stations are average white guys who wore regular jeans and standard-issue white sneakers then, and, for that matter, still do now.

In a recent issue of the music magazine *Option*, "alternative rocker" Liz Phair said that "there's something that happens to people as they reach adulthood. They spend a lot of time trying to figure out what first hit them about rock 'n' roll. It's like the first time you took a drug. You want that first time back. You want that first deviance from the world as you know it.... And so you're pretty much destined to rehash that over and over again. It's scary."

In a similar vein, Arrow L.A. Program Director Tommy Edwards offered the theory that the music people were listening to when they became sexually active is the most important music to them for the rest of their lives. Maybe, then, it has been easy for me to accept New York's lack of a '70s station because the songs they play just don't bring back my tender entrée into the world of "gettin' it on." Rick Derringer's "Rock 'n' Roll Hootchie-Coo" actually has me waiting in the Ford LTD station wagon with fake wood paneling while Mom runs into the grocery store to get Tang and Goober Grape (peanut butter and jelly swirled together in one convenient jar). Besides, when the all-'80s stations hit the airwaves in ten years, I won't yearn to hear A Flock of Seagulls ("I Ran"), no matter how vividly it evokes the heady feeling of being the first guy in my neighborhood to get to third base. I'd be afraid that after hearing it twice a month, "I Ran" would remind me of being caught in twenty-first-century rush-hour traffic. That would suck, even worse than the song.

While these stations may be popular in part because the songs remind listeners of slipping on that first condom, it's more likely because these songs are like slipping on an old pair of sneakers (standard white, of course). Others may complain that they stink. But, unlike with something new, you know exactly what to expect.

CHRIS BONASTIA is a free-lance writer and a graduate student in sociology at New York University.

AFTER YOU'VE GONE

BAZOOKA JOE

By Richard Stengel

With his trademark red socks and puckish grin, Joe Slovo was a rare oxymoron: a joyful Marxist. From the dawn of apartheid in 1948, Slovo was the white revolutionary whom black South Africans adored and white South Africans demonized. In the black townships, the only speaker greeted with more ecstatic receptions was Nelson Mandela. I remember a rally in Soweto in 1993 when Slovo raised a pale fist and rasped out "*Amandla*!" Amid the wild cheers, a young comrade turned to me and said, "I love that crazy old man!"

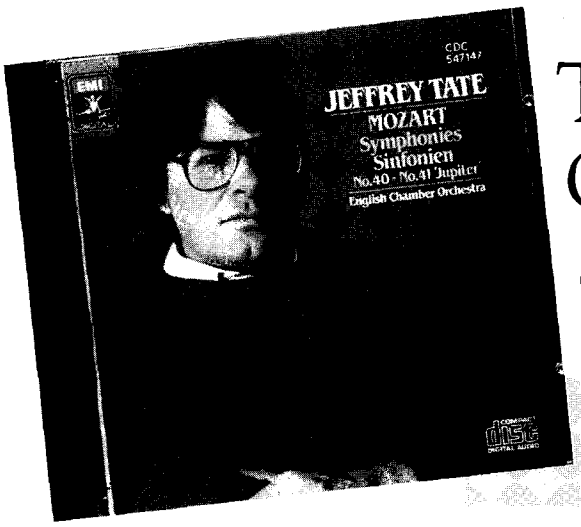
No one, least of all himself, ever thought Joe Slovo would pass away peacefully in his sleep. But when he died last week at the age of 68 of bone cancer, the one-time leader of the ANC's underground army had survived numerous assassination attempts and had become the minister of housing in the first democratically elected government of South Africa. More than anyone else, even his one-time legal client, Nelson Mandela, Slovo was the intellectual engine of the ANC.

The son of Lithuanian Jews escaping pogroms in their native land, Slovo emigrated to South Africa in 1935 when he was 9 years old. After fighting with the South African army against the Nazis during World War II, he enrolled as a law student at the University of Witwatersrand. There he met Mandela, the lone black law student. Slovo was then chairman of the law society and threatened to resign from the group unless Mandela was permitted to come to its annual dinner.

Slovo was already a Communist, and, though Mandela was a stubborn African Nationalist who distrusted communism as a foreign ideology, he befriended Slovo. Slovo drew Mandela into his lively circle; Mandela attended his first mixed-race party at Slovo's Johannesburg house where the tall, shy law student neither drank nor danced, and barely said a word. Although Mandela never became a card-carrying Communist, he forged an adamantine alliance with the party in his fight against racism. As Mandela later remarked, "Only the Communists were prepared to eat with us, live with us and work with us."

A master of courtroom rhetoric and deft cross-examination, Slovo helped defend Mandela in several notable trials during the 1950s and '60s. During one trial, in which both Slovo and Mandela were defendants, Slovo cross-examined an African detective who claimed to recall verbatim ANC speeches advocating the overthrow of the white government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Take This Critically-Acclaimed CD — *Free!*

"When it comes to Mozart, Jeffrey Tate is a conductor to be remembered. He fully realizes Mozart's incredibly rich instrumental palette in these recordings." — Stereo Review

When you audition these two — *Risk-Free!*

1. Handel: Water Music. Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Neville Mariner conductor (EMI). A delightful tapestry of splendid music. *"There cannot be sufficient praise for Mariner's interpretations."* — The New York Times

2. Tchaikovsky: Piano Concerto No. 1. Emil Gilels, piano, New York Philharmonic, Zubin Mehta, conductor. **Violin Concerto in D.** Pinchas Zukerman, violin, Israel Philharmonic, Zubin Mehta, conductor (CBS Masterworks). *"Gilels' playing is masterly... Zukerman is at his most warmly persuasive... A most rewarding coupling."* — Gramophone

Keep them both for $9.95

Listen to these two critically-acclaimed recordings, and if you are not completely delighted, simply return them within 14 days and owe nothing. Or you can keep them both for the Special Introductory Price of just $9.95 plus $3.95 shipping and handling. *Mozart: Symphonies Nos. 40 and 41* is yours to keep in any event — FREE — as your introduction to *The Classical Experience* from the Columbia House Music Collection.

This unique series will bring you, on a similar risk-free basis, a wide range of classical masterpieces performed by virtuoso musicians and world renowned orchestras. Including Murray Perahia and the Chamber Orchestra of Europe performing Mozart's *Piano Concerto Nos. 21 ("Elvira Madigan")* and *27* in a recording *The New York Times* called "Mozart playing of great beauty." Kurt Masur conducting the London Philharmonic in Schumann's *Symphonies Nos. 1 ("Spring")* and *4* — "Two of the most inspiring realizations of any of Schumann's symphonies to come our way in years" *(Stereo Review)*. Riccardo Muti and the Philadelphia Orchestra in a "powerful statement" of Beethoven's *Third Symphony (CD Review)*. And many more critically-acclaimed recordings of some of the most important, most enjoyable music ever written.

In short, *The Classical Experience* is your opportunity to explore classical music at its best. You'll enjoy the same full-length recordings that classical music buffs treasure. Every CD is all digital (DDD) for the fullest realization of the virtuoso performances you'll hear. Plus every set includes a FREE Program Guide with fascinating background on the composers and the musicians who bring this wonderful music to life.

There is no risk. You can listen to each album for 14 days and return any you don't want. There is no minimum number of albums you must buy. And you may cancel your subscription at any time.

See the coupon for full details and send for your first set — including your FREE copy of *Mozart: Symphonies Nos. 40 and 41* — TODAY!

THE CLASSICAL EXPERIENCE

Mail to: The Columbia House Music Collection
Dept. 1Z9, P.O. Box 1134, Terre Haute, IN 47811

☐ **YES!** I want to enjoy *The Classical Experience*.

- My first set will contain: My FREE copy of *Mozart: Symphonies Nos. 40 and 41*...plus the *Handel* and *Tchaikovsky* recordings for a 14-day Risk-Free audition, along with my FREE Program Guide.
- If I am not delighted, I may return the *Handel* and *Tchaikovsky* recordings within 14 days, you will cancel my subscription, and I will owe nothing. *Mozart: Symphonies Nos. 40 and 41* is mine to keep, no matter what I decide.
- Or I may keep the *Handel* and *Tchaikovsky* recordings for the Special Introductory Price of just $9.95 plus $3.95 shipping and handling. Then, about every 6-8 weeks, I will receive another set in the series to preview Risk-Free for 14-days. I may keep them for just $29.95 for 3 CDs or $19.95 for 3 cassettes, plus $3.95 shipping and handling. Or I may return all 3 within 14 days for a full refund or credit, or return just those I don't want for a refund or credit of $9.98 per CD or $6.65 per cassette.
- **There is no minimum number of albums to buy, and I may cancel my subscription at any time.**

Please send my recordings in (choose one):
☐ All digital CDs ☐ Cassettes 779504 QR QV

NAME _____

STREET _____ APT.# _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP _____

Note: We reserve the right to reject any application or cancel any subscription. Applicable sales tax will be added to all orders.

COLUMBIA HOUSE MUSIC COLLECTION

© 1994, The Columbia House Company

SEND NO MONEY ▪ MAIL TODAY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SLOVO: "Do you understand English?"
DETECTIVE: "Not so well."
SLOVO: "Do you mean to say that you reported these speeches in English but you don't understand English well?"
DETECTIVE: "Yes, your Worship."
SLOVO: "Do you agree that your notes are a lot of rubbish?"
DETECTIVE: "I don't know."

Although it was Mandela who took the lead in forming Umkhonto we Sizwe (M.K.), the ANC's underground military wing, he did so in partnership with Slovo, who had helped to create clandestine forces for the then-banned Communist Party. If Mandela was the inspirational founder of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Slovo was its chief strategist and propagandist. He drafted the organization's manifesto in 1961. In 1963, when key members of Umkhonto were captured at a farmhouse in Rivonia, Slovo, who usually visited there several times a day, was abroad. He went into exile, and spent the next twenty-seven years in London, Zambia and Mozambique.

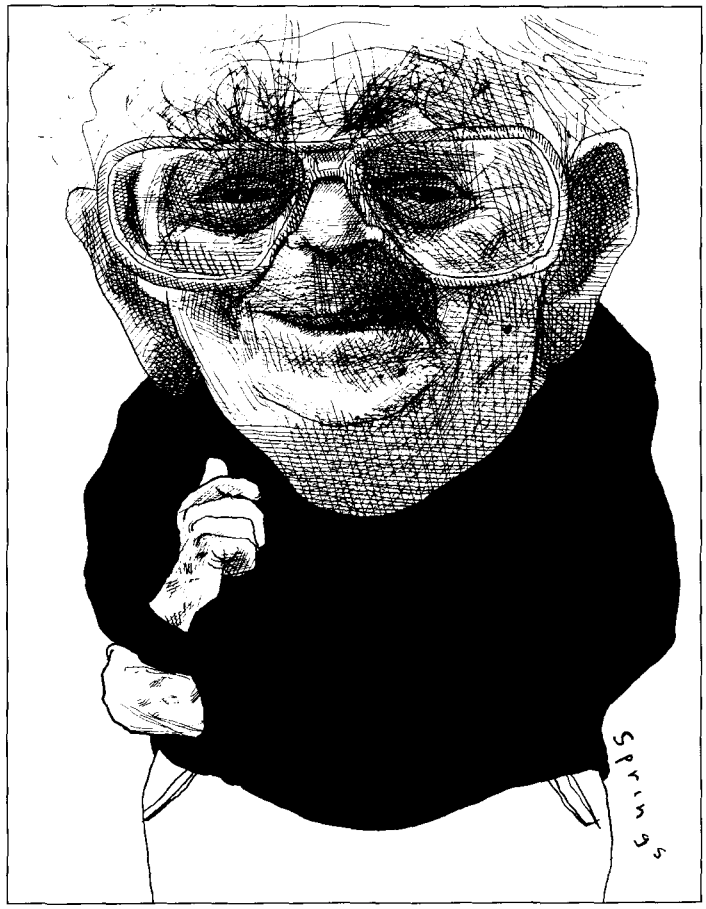


ILLUSTRATION BY JOHN SPRINGS FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

In exile, Slovo eventually became chief of staff of M.K. The ragtag force's principal backer was the Soviet Union, which arranged for financing and training of M.K. guerrillas. Slovo proved an unshaking loyalist to his patrons and a mouthpiece for Soviet adventurism, even endorsing the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, a position he later repudiated. In the 1980s he accused Gorbachev of vilifying Lenin and expressed sympathy for Soviet hardliners. While Slovo later admitted feeling "deep shame" for his uncritical support of brutal Stalinist policies, he never lost his idealism about communism. Even after the fall of the Berlin Wall, his view was not that socialism had failed, but that the people had failed socialism.

Slovo, unlike his colleagues, spent very little time in prison. Still, his exile was painful. In 1982, while in Mozambique, his wife was killed by a parcel bomb sent by the South African security forces. Although he had been a force behind the scenes in the ANC, it was not until 1985 that the organization permitted whites in its National Executive. That year, he became the executive's first white member and a year later was named general secretary of the South African Communist Party.

At two crucial moments during the four years after Mandela's release from prison, it was Slovo who jumpstarted the stalled negotiations between the ANC and the Nationalist government. In 1990, when talks were at an impasse and a civil war seemed possible, Slovo took Mandela aside and whispered that it might be time to suspend the armed struggle. This suggestion was anathema to many ANC leaders, but Mandela saw that Slovo was right and urged him to propose it. Slovo's credentials as a revolutionary were above dispute; both he and Mandela saw Slovo's tactics as a variation on the principle of Nixon-going-to-China. The same strategy worked again in 1992 when the government, fearing what it called the tyranny of the majority, was balking on setting a date for elections. Slovo offered a radical compromise: a five-year government of national unity with power-sharing for the majority parties and a "sunset clause" to cover white civil servants. As Slovo explained at the time, the negotiations were not armistice talks in which the ANC could dictate terms to a defeated enemy. The ANC had no civil service, no governing experience, and he realized that they could not rule successfully without the help of their old oppressors.

As housing minister, Slovo seemed able to maneuver through the South African bureaucracy and get his traditionally slow-moving department to take action. He was one of the few new ministers who upset old-line civil servants by bringing in his own associates. In October he signed a $500 million mortgage agreement for housing loans to residents of black townships.

Shortly after the election, a friend of Mandela's held a small party at a grand house in a Johannesburg suburb. The host had arranged for some of the great singers of the 1950s to perform the dazzling protest music from that period. While Mandela smiled, tapped his foot and looked on like a benign grandfather, Slovo, his white hair flying, his eyes twinkling, his body weakened by the disease that would eventually kill him, danced all night to the music of the struggle.

RICHARD STENGEL collaborated with Nelson Mandela on Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom* (Little, Brown & Co.).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another bright Republican idea.

TAXING THE POOR

By Robert S. McIntyre

It's time to get serious about raising taxes on the poor.
—Rush Limbaugh, *The Way Things Ought to Be*

Now that the Republicans control Congress, their Contract with America, with its costly new loopholes for rich people and corporations, is at center stage. But an even more ambitious redistributionist agenda lurks in the wings. Many GOP leaders want to scrap all personal and corporate income taxes in favor of a national consumption tax. Inciting middle-class resentment against poor people was a key to the GOP victories last November. But middle-income voters should take note. If Republicans succeed in enacting a consumption tax, it's not just the poor but average families who will take it on the chin.

Republican Ways and Means Committee Chairman Bill Archer of Texas has mused about replacing income taxes with a flat-rate national sales tax, or value-added tax. Another Texas Republican, House Majority Leader Richard Armey, wants a combination national sales tax and wage tax. And Republican Senator Pete Domenici of New Mexico, joined by Democrat Sam Nunn of Georgia, promises to introduce a so-called progressive consumption tax bill early in 1995.

All these ideas start with the same premise: America would be a better place if people who save a lot paid much lower taxes and people who spend most or all of their incomes paid considerably more. One might have thought that the dubious economic merits of this contention had been laid to rest during Ronald Reagan's presidency, when slashing taxes on capital income, savings and investment led only to weak business investment and rampant tax-sheltering. But, even if Archer, Armey, et al. ignore the economic lessons of the '80s, they can't deny one almost inevitable outcome of their proposals: huge tax cuts for rich people and huge increases for the middle class and the poor.

The arithmetic is most obvious for a national sales tax. This wouldn't, by the way, be a garden-variety 5 or 6 percent sales tax as most states impose. To raise as much money as current income taxes do would take a national sales tax rate of 20 percent to 33 percent, depending on what is taxed. With the broadest possible base, everything from food to clothing to houses would cost one-fifth more than it does now. With a narrower (and more plausible) base, the price of the average new car could jump by $6,600.

Right now, our personal income tax starts with an effective rate of zero (or less) on lower-income families and goes up to a 40 percent top marginal rate on the incomes of the best-off 1 percent. Replace that with a flat-rate sales tax of 20 to 33 percent, and clearly the rich will pay far less in taxes. After all, not only will their tax rate be lower, but all the money they save—a large share of their income—won't be taxed at all. That leaves middle- and low-income families holding the bag.

In fact, according to the Congressional Budget Office, the *least* regressive national sales tax substitute for the income tax would cost the typical middle-income family more than $3,000 per year. The poorest families would pay 30 percent of their incomes in added taxes. But the richest would get tax cuts of more than $130,000.

Facing these horrible distributional results, some of the GOP consumption taxers have tried alternative approaches. Under Armey's flat-tax plan, businesses would deduct wages paid in computing the sales tax they charge customers. Workers would pay taxes directly on their wages, with generous exemptions. But Armey's plan doesn't come close to generating enough revenue at the 17 percent tax rate he proposes. A recent Treasury analysis pegged the cost at $200 billion or more annually. If Armey's plan is adjusted to avoid revenue losses, Treasury found, the typical family's tax bill would jump by $1,700, while very rich people would get tax cuts averaging $55,000 each. Armey blusters that these findings are "garbage" and a "partisan assault" by the Democrats. But twelve years ago Reagan's Treasury Department reached the same conclusion; at a 1982 Senate Finance Committee hearing, Treasury testified that "any" flat-rate tax "would involve a significant redistribution of tax liability" away from the rich and onto average taxpayers.

Armey's salesmanship, moreover, contradicts itself several times over. He denies that his proposed low rate and high exemptions will entail a huge revenue shortfall, yet insists that everyone will somehow still get a tax cut. Then he talks about only the wage portion of his tax, pretending that nobody will pay the whopping sales tax portion—even though it would hit groceries, health care, new homes, etc.

Domenici and Nunn have yet a different scheme. It would retain the trappings of the current income tax but allow people to deduct money saved. Conversely, when people borrow money or withdraw funds from savings, their taxable incomes would go up. Domenici and Nunn argue that, with graduated rates, such a "progressive consumption tax" could be just as fair as the current system. But they haven't found a way to make the rich pay nearly as much as they do now without a stupendously high top rate.

The Nunn-Domenici plan also faces overwhelming technical problems, notably in trying to deal with existing savings and debt. Were a progressive consumption tax about to be enacted, everyone in the country with substantial wealth would be advised by his or her lawyer

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to amass as large as possible a store of cash outside of bank accounts or other places where records are kept. Then, when the law took effect, these people would deposit their money back into a bank and take big tax deductions. Such shenanigans could be outlawed, but the prohibition would be almost impossible to enforce. Until these and other thorny problems are solved—and years of study have made little progress—the progressive consumption tax is a non-starter.

Why would Republicans, having just regained control of the House after forty years, be calling for enormous tax hikes on most Americans—seemingly a sure-fire recipe for political disaster? The answer, of course, is that the consumption taxers don't admit that they want most people to pay higher taxes. They argue vociferously that by "closing loopholes" and "simplifying" taxes, they can make almost everyone—particularly the middle class—better off. Thus, the consumption taxers are dishonestly trying to tap into public resentment that corporations and rich people aren't paying their fair share. Most people get almost all of their incomes from their paychecks, and, due to withholding, tax compliance on wages is extremely high—close to 99 percent. When it comes to business and investment income, however, legal loopholes and outright evasion are much more common. To many, this discrepancy is extremely annoying. When Armey promises to "wipe out 10,000 pages of tax laws and regulations" that supposedly foster high-income tax dodging, he finds an initially receptive audience.

But the claim that switching to a consumption tax would end upper-income tax avoidance is bizarre. The proposed consumption taxes are inherently at least as complicated as existing law. More important, these tax plans, far from closing loopholes for the rich and powerful, would vastly expand them.

How do the consumption taxers purport to deal with corporate tax avoidance? They completely abolish the corporate income tax. How do the proposals deal with tax avoidance and evasion on personal investment income? Again, either they don't tax interest, dividends, capital gains, etc. at all (Armey) or they exclude savings and investment from the tax base (Archer, Nunn-Domenici). Either way, the result is not to close loopholes for capital income, but to mass them into one giant, all-encompassing loophole.

Despite its problems, our current income tax system does make those with the most money pay the highest tax rates. The wealthiest tenth of the population pays about three-fifths of the total federal income tax bill. That helps balance the regressive nature of other taxes. Maybe the well-off should pay a larger share of the tax burden—I think so—but switching to a consumption tax would have exactly the opposite effect.

Perhaps GOP leaders who promote consumption taxes have become overconfident by the ease with which they falsely tarred President Clinton's 1993 deficit reduction plan as the "biggest tax increase in history." (It wasn't even close.) Maybe they believe they can also fool the public into believing that shifting the tax burden from the wealthy to the middle class and the poor is actually a tax cut. We'll see, but I doubt it. If Republicans pursue their consumption tax fantasies, they're likely to find only political trouble once voters discover what a nightmare is in store for most of them.

ROBERT S. MCINTYRE is director of Citizens for Tax Justice.

Anti-affirmative action propositions.

SON OF 187

By Peter Schrag

Last August, Republican legislators in California proposed an amendment to the state constitution that would have spiked almost all affirmative action programs in state employment and higher education. The amendment received a polite three-hour hearing before a committee of the state Assembly, and then was summarily rejected.

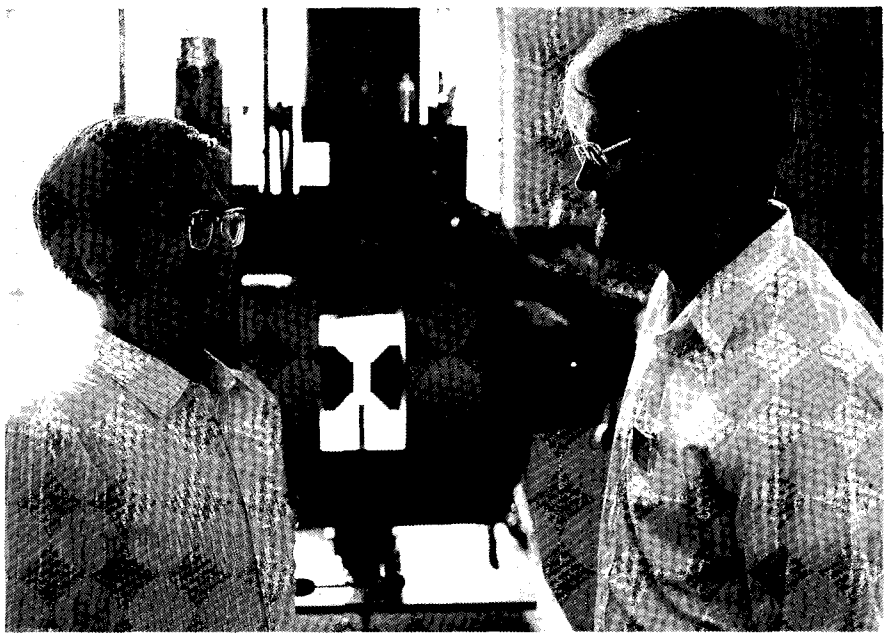
The rejection was no surprise. At the time, Democrats controlled both houses of the legislature, and the amendment, called the California Civil Rights Initiative, had no organized backing. Though co-sponsored by virtually all of the legislature's forty-nine Republicans, plus one Democrat and one independent, it faced loud opposition from the civil rights groups and public employee unions that hold sway in the California Democratic Party. Oakland Assemblywoman Barbara Lee called the measure "one of the most dangerous pieces of legislation I have witnessed."

Then came the 1994 election. Proposition 187 passed overwhelmingly, and the Republicans won control of the state Assembly, one of two houses of the legislature. Now, the anti-affirmative action initiative, reintroduced in December, is back with sudden support. Republicans seem determined to make it one of the wedge issues of next year's elections. "We believe," said David Reade, a senior Republican staff member in the legislature, "that this will be the defining issue for all candidates running in 1996."

Whatever its flaws or virtues, the initiative is likely to cause unmatched difficulties for the Democrats; Proposition 187 could look like a cream puff in comparison. Two weeks ago, Governor Pete Wilson all but endorsed it, saying, "I don't think it's fair to give preference based on race or gender." That's not the kind of thing Wilson says casually. Wilson, who has a well-earned reputation for exploiting divisive issues (crime, immigration, more crime), is likely to be either a presidential candidate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making Science Together



HIVIPS aims to promote cooperation and scientific development by bringing together scientists from different backgrounds and countries.

Providing Joint Research Opportunities in Japan

As an electronics engineer, Dr. Gregory Uvieghara has long been intrigued by Japan's success in his chosen field. Small wonder that when the opportunity arose, he jumped at a chance to work as a guest researcher at Hitachi's Central Research Laboratory (CRL) near Tokyo. "The invitation opened the door of a major Japanese laboratory to me. It gave me a unique chance to observe Japanese research methods first-hand," the AT&T Bell Labs researcher says. He spent over a year in Japan studying a new type of semiconductor device.

Opening doors is what the Hitachi Research Visit Programs (HIVIPS) are all about. The programs bring scientists from all over the world together to work on key problems in basic and applied research; allowing creative collaboration that would not be possible otherwise. More than 200 scientists from all over the world have participated in the programs since their inception in 1985.

For Felicia Heiler, HIVIPS allowed her to work side-by-side with Japan's leading expert in submicron semiconductor device physics, whom she had met while studying for her master's degree in electrical engineering at Santa Clara University. The collaboration turned out to be very fruitful. "I ended up with a master's thesis and two publications," Heiler says. She now works as a device engineer for Advanced Micro Devices.

For Dr. Thomas Hildebrandt, HIVIPS gave him a chance to work closely with Japanese experts in handwritten character recognition systems."The sharing of ideas and the facilities certainly were conducive to my research," the Lehigh University computer science professor says. "I made a lot more progress than I would have otherwise."

Dr. Thomas Hildebrandt participated in HIVIPS in 1993.

For many participants, lasting friendships may be HIVIPS' most important benefit. "Many of my best friends are people I met at CRL," Heiler says. "In fact, one of them, my Hitachi advisor, came all the way from Japan to attend my wedding."

We at Hitachi are proud to sponsor HIVIPS. We believe that this scientific exchange not only provides research rewards, but also promotes mutual understanding in the scientific community.

HITACHI

© 1994 HITACHI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

next year or a major player in helping to anoint his party's nominee.

The anti-affirmative action measure is essentially a simple declaration: "Neither the State of California nor any of its political subdivisions or agents shall use race, sex, color, ethnicity or national origin as a criterion for either discriminating against, or granting preferential treatment to, any individual or group in the operation of the state's system of public employment, public education or public contracting." That language, with exceptions for certain state programs—those in which affirmative action is required under federal law, "necessary to establish or maintain eligibility" for federal funds or established under court orders—would effectively end most of the state's preferences for minorities and women. Affected practices would include the awarding of contracts, hiring and recruiting (from Transportation Department truck drivers to University of California professors) and the admission of students to those institutions. To make it more alluring, the bill's chief legislative advocate, an assemblyman from Chico named Bernie Richter, says he'll add a provision that would make it possible to give preferences to applicants who have been economically or socially disadvantaged.

The initiative is the brainchild of Glynn Custred, a professor of anthropology at the California State University at Hayward, and Tom Wood, executive director of the tiny California branch of the National Association of Scholars, along with a handful of other academics, none with any political experience. The California Association of Scholars, like the national organization, bills itself as a moderate alternative to the politically correct orthodoxies of the academic establishment. The California branch has been particularly focused on the minority preferences—what another California professor called "hire black or brown or not at all"—in recruiting and promotion at California's state colleges and universities.

The clincher for the initiative's backers, says Custred, was a bill sponsored in 1991 by then-Assembly Speaker Willie Brown that would have pressured the state's universities not merely to admit minority students in roughly the same proportions that they are represented in the state's high school graduating classes, but to produce "specific step-by-step plans" to achieve ethnic parity in college graduation rates as well. The trustees of California State University, for example, were to "hold faculty and administrators accountable for the success of their institutions in achieving equity." Work toward achieving it was to be "granted significant consideration" in faculty and administration performance evaluations. The bill, passed by both houses of the legislature, would be law now had Wilson not vetoed it. On top of already resented affirmative actions programs, the Brown bill was too much. "Nobody seemed to know about it," Custred said. "The press hardly reported it, and hardly anybody seemed to care. And we knew we'd never get anywhere inside the universities. If we ever got a Democratic governor, a bill like Brown's would become law."

This particular initiative may be a blunt instrument. In seeking to remedy the excesses of affirmative action in higher education—where being the "most qualified" has real meaning—the measure ignores the lingering racism in the blue-collar sector of public employment, where marginal extra qualifications on a test may matter much less. Even some of the amendment's sponsors acknowledge that, for example, in forbidding local police and fire departments from favoring black or Latino candidates in hiring and promotion, the initiative also may keep such agencies from achieving support and credibility in minority neighborhoods. And, ironically, it could cause California's public institutions to push their already inadequate academic admissions criteria—primarily high school records and test scores—even lower, so they'll be able to continue admitting substantial numbers of minority students without the use of obvious racial preferences.

Nor is there much doubt that the measure will generate a rash of federal legal challenges, though no one can be certain how the courts or the U.S. Justice Department will respond. The courts permit some preferences based on race or ethnicity, but they have required them only where a record of discrimination has been established. When the measure was before the Assembly last year, civil rights organizations submitted a long brief of legal objections, centered on the observation that the amendment "embodies an explicit, although allegedly benign, use of race, prohibiting the state or any of its subdivisions from using race (and other suspect classifications) as a criterion for granting preferential treatment." In short, it argued that in barring the use of racial classifications the measure was in itself using race as a classification.

But, as with Proposition 187, part of which is patently unconstitutional, and which is likely to be tied up in the courts for years, the legal arguments will do little to reduce its political potential both in California and on the national scene. Professional civil rights advocates such as Eleanor Holmes Norton are warning that it will become "another race-baiting proposition"—a weapon of "race war." But, if the overwhelming white male vote for Republicans in 1994—roughly 57 percent in congressional races—had any sort of message on such issues, it was anger at anything that smacks of preference for women and minorities.

The issue thus poses a political dilemma for the Democrats: continue to back preferences and lose more of the white middle-class vote; or back initiatives such as this and risk losing the active support of not only the minority and women's groups, but also the liberal public employees' unions that have become essential to the party.

Although the initiative has no formal campaign organization so far, it's almost certain to get it, and soon. John Herrington, the state Republican Party vice chairman, is on the initiative's Advisory Board and is likely to throw the party's support behind the measure; Ron Unz, who ran against Wilson, has also endorsed the measure, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other well-heeled individual Republicans may follow suit. Although it is unlikely to pass a legislature that is still partly under Democratic control, the measure almost certainly will be on the ballot as a referendum question in 1996. As Proposition 187 was in 1994, the initiative is likely to be an issue in almost every political contest in California—including the presidential race. And, as the old political maxim has it, where California goes, the nation is usually not far behind.

PETER SCHRAG is editorial page editor of *The Sacramento Bee*.

African Americans vs. immigrants.

THE BLACK ALIENATION

By Peter Skerry

The Cooke Elementary School in Washington, D.C.'s Adams-Morgan neighborhood—home to white yuppies, poor blacks and Central American immigrants—recently received a $1 million federal grant. The windfall has become a source not of celebration but of fierce dispute. The grant was awarded to make the school completely bilingual—and much of the outrage has come from black parents and teachers. (Latino parents are divided on the issue.) Black teachers fear they will be transferred because they don't speak Spanish. As for the parents, one mother told *The Washington Post*, "This is my neighborhood. My brothers and sisters and cousins went to Cooke, my kids go to Cooke, and I don't want to see the nature of the school changed."

The incident illustrates an important question about immigration that is being neglected in our emerging policy debate on the issue: How does immigration affect black Americans? Ask the man on the street this question, and he will tell you that immigrants are outcompeting blacks, and other Americans, on numerous fronts. Yet, in Washington policy circles, this commonsense view is far from self-evident. Even more to the point, the question itself seldom gets raised these days, even as immigration heats up as a public policy issue. The indifference of black leaders to this question is a separate issue unto itself—as is the obsessive tolerance of liberals who reject the question out of an abiding faith that because blacks and today's immigrants are all "people of color" their interests must be congruent. As for conservatives, whether pro- or anti-immigration, they remain oblivious to the possible negative consequences of having black Americans see yet another group of newcomers move past them in the struggle for social and economic advancement.

When the impact of immigration on blacks has indeed been scrutinized, it has been through such a narrow lens that the resulting analyses miss the bigger picture. The terrain has been dominated by labor-market economists, who have found that, as a result of immigration, black wage rates and employment levels have either benefited or at least held steady. While such general findings may be technically valid, they often fail to capture the relatively localized impacts of immigrants on low-skilled urban labor markets.

Evidence from the 1990 Census shows significant migration from areas where new immigrants live. This migration, though often portrayed as occurring among affluent whites, has in fact been most pronounced among poverty-level whites, and significant among blacks. Research by William Frey at the University of Michigan reveals that between 1985 and 1990 almost 12 percent of poor whites and almost 5 percent of poor blacks left metropolitan Los Angeles. Such migrations have been even greater in other metropolitan areas, notably New York and Chicago. Frey observes that these migrations might explain the widespread findings that immigration hasn't hurt blacks economically. In any event, in L.A. and other cities, Latino immigrants now dominate substantial segments of the service sector, such as janitorial jobs. While they may not have pushed blacks out of these positions, Latinos are sufficiently entrenched that blacks will probably have a hard time finding their way back in.

Sociologist William Julius Wilson and his colleagues at the Chicago Urban Poverty and Family Life Study offer further evidence. Wilson compared employment patterns of inner-city Mexican and black men; he found that employers generally prefer to hire immigrant Mexicans over blacks, in part because the former are more directly tied into informal job networks that both support individual work effort and reassure employers of the workers' reliability. To cite a mundane example, Latinos are more likely than blacks to belong to carpools, and are therefore less dependent on unreliable public transportation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wilson also notes that employers don't respond well to the attitudes that black men tend to display. As his colleague, Richard Taub, observes of the individuals in their study:

> This group of African American men has attitudes toward work quite different from the Mexican-Americans, which bear close examination. It is clear that they do not like the jobs the Mexican-Americans often take and that they will not work as hard for those same low wages.

Though Wilson's findings are complex, he, like other researchers looking at local labor markets, concludes that inner-city black men are losing out in the competition with immigrants.

But labor-market competition doesn't tell the whole story. There are plenty of other arenas in which disadvantaged black Americans might compete with immigrants. Politics, for example, springs to mind. Certainly in L.A., the competition between blacks and Latinos for public recognition and visibility is intense. From all sides you often hear the lament: "There's only room for one minority in this town." More concretely, recent redistrictings have revealed struggles for dominance between the two groups. With regard to public housing, schools and health facilities, disadvantaged blacks also clearly feel threatened by immigrants. Again in L.A., the classic case is Martin Luther King Jr. Hospital in Watts, built in response to the 1965 riots and now dominated by Latino immigrants.

Then there's the dispute that erupted a few months ago when the only Hispanic on the Board of Governors of the U.S. Postal Service, the nation's largest civilian employer, charged that blacks were "overrepresented" and Hispanics "underrepresented" among postal employees. Governor Tirso del Junco pointed to a recent General Accounting Office report revealing, for example, that in L.A. in 1993 blacks made up about 10 percent of the regional labor force, but 62 percent of the postal work force. For Hispanics, the corresponding figures were 35 percent and 15 percent. The irony here is that the postal service is one of the few institutions where established job networks have benefited blacks. This may present an extreme case, but it points out how even better-situated blacks will be pitted against immigrants and their progeny.

Is the competition between immigrants and black Americans all to the bad? Maybe not. If fewer blacks go to work for the post office (a rather moribund operation, after all), more may go to work for Federal Express. And perhaps it isn't a tragedy if poor blacks leave inner cities in search of opportunities elsewhere. This seems to be the position of Ron Unz, the conservative Silicon Valley software entrepreneur who challenged Governor Pete Wilson in the Republican primary last June on an aggressively pro-immigration platform. In a *Policy Review* article provocatively titled "Immigration or the Welfare State: Which Is Our Real Enemy?" Unz asserted that immigration "can be the issue that sparks a massive rollback of the welfare state and the ethnic group policies of the past twenty or thirty years."

Maybe such immigration-induced competition could help disadvantaged blacks, although we don't really know enough to judge. In the meantime, there is considerable evidence that what some regard as bracing competition, blacks themselves regard as shock therapy. Frey's demographic research indicates that rather than leaving immigrant-heavy metropolitan areas for bright prospects elsewhere, poor blacks are simply being pushed out by diminished opportunities where they now live. Reinforcing this pessimistic interpretation of the evidence are years of opinion survey data that have long demonstrated black Americans to be less than enthusiastic about immigration. California's Proposition 187 passed with significant support from blacks. Despite the uniform and vehement opposition of black leaders to 187, California blacks split on the measure, 47 percent in favor and 53 percent against. According to Harold Meyerson of the leftish *L.A. Weekly*, there was even greater support for 187 among blacks in South-Central L.A., where the physical displacement of blacks by Latino immigrants has been most visible in recent years. Wilson, who placed anti-immigration themes at the center of his re-election campaign, won 20 percent of the statewide black vote—twice the historic level of black support for Republican candidates, Meyerson notes.

Similarly telling are the various civil disturbances that have occurred over the past decade. In Miami, black disaffection with immigrant competitors has erupted in mass violence on several occasions. Though not so clear-cut, recent riots in Washington, D.C., and of course in Los Angeles arguably reflected similar sentiments among blacks. Such episodes suggest that blacks won't respond to immigration and its attendant urban changes passively.

None of this should be construed as excusing vicious, violent or unlawful behavior. Nor is it to excuse the actions, or inactions, of politicians such as David Dinkins, who, as mayor of New York, turned his back on the abuse heaped upon Korean businesses by black demagogues. But such behavior is a fact of political life that reflects a growing sense of isolation and despair on the part of black Americans.

But this conclusion doesn't carry with it any clear prescription for immigration policy. Blacks continue to have a strong claim on America's conscience. Yet this doesn't necessarily point to restrictionist policies. The advantages of high levels of immigration to the general welfare may outweigh any specific negative impacts on blacks. Or perhaps such impacts can be addressed by compensatory policies and programs, though our record here is spotty at best. But one day, the same black leaders who are today so silent on this issue may stake yet another claim of injustice against American society. Such claims will be hypocritical and opportunistic. If the rest of us persist in evading the issue, such charges will also have the ring of truth.

PETER SKERRY is a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where We Stand

By Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

Testing Teachers

The public is becoming skeptical about school reform. They are asking, "How can we take seriously all this talk about high standards, new curriculums and revolutionary ways of organizing the school day when there is violence and destruction in the schools?" And I think they are right. No reform is going to work when classrooms are chaotic and when kids who continually disrupt the learning of others cannot be removed.

Well, I'd like to say the same thing about teachers' knowing the subject matter they are supposed to teach. The new curriculums that school reformers talk about won't be worth the paper they are written on unless new teachers are prepared to teach them. If we are serious about reform, we should consider pre-employment tests for prospective teachers that are demanding enough to show who knows the material and who doesn't. Such tests are a practical and relatively inexpensive way to find out who is unqualified to teach the new curriculums—or the current curriculums, for that matter.

Why don't we already have tests like these in every jurisdiction in the country?

Some people look on pre-employment testing of teachers as unfair—a kind of double jeopardy. "Teachers are already college graduates," they say. "Why should they be tested?" That's easy. Lawyers are college graduates and graduates of professional school, too, but they have to take a bar exam. And a number of other professions ask prospective members to prove that they know their stuff by taking and passing examinations: accountants, actuaries, doctors, architects. There is no reason why teachers shouldn't be required to do this, too. Indeed, if they were, the public would undoubtedly have greater respect for teachers' qualifications.

Others argue that no paper-and-pencil test can tell you who will be a good teacher, so why bother. It's true that this kind of test won't show who can put across the material and who cannot, but few beginning teachers are experts at presenting a lesson. Assessments requiring that and other performance skills should be postponed until the end of the probationary period when they should be a condition for attaining tenure. However, a paper-and-pencil test *will* tell you which applicant for a job teaching English can't spell or punctuate or write a decent paragraph (or even a decent sentence) and which person who hopes to teach American history doesn't know what's in the Bill of Rights. No matter what other qualities prospective teachers have, they won't do a decent job without a good grasp of the subject matter they propose to teach.

If states instituted serious pre-employment tests for new teachers, they would undoubtedly face some tough challenges.

Some states already have pre-certification tests. But do these tests really find out if prospective teachers know their subject? Or are they like minimum-competency exams—the kind of tests that allow youngsters who are at a seventh or eighth-grade level to graduate from high school? And would any of the states that have these tests dare to submit them to an independent evaluation and then reveal to the public the level of knowledge prospective teachers need to pass their test?

Why aren't more states taking this commonsense step? Maybe it's because they are afraid that serious tests would lead to massive teacher shortages.

A few years ago, this would have been much less of a problem. In those days, minorities and women seldom became doctors or lawyers or engineers or business executives—these professions simply were not open to them. So we had less trouble attracting highly qualified people to the teaching profession, and many of them are still on the job. But now, race and ethnicity and sex are no longer the same kind of bar to good jobs in business or the professions. So given the conditions teachers work under, the salaries they receive and the lack of dignity that often goes with the job, few top graduates are likely to consider teaching.

If states instituted serious pre-employment tests for new teachers, they would undoubtedly face some tough challenges. They might experience a massive shortage of teachers or they might be forced to explain why they hired teachers who were not prepared to teach. Or they might have to do what employers in the private sector do: figure out a series of incentives in terms of salary and working conditions that would make teaching competitive enough to attract more of those who meet the standards. If we expect school reform to go anywhere, there's no question what the response has to be.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear in this ad under the auspices of the American Federation of Teachers. Reader correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at the AFT, 555 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. © 1995 by Albert Shanker.

ADVERTISEMENT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why the courts can't save us.

THE WAR ON IMMIGRANTS

By Jeffrey Rosen

On December 14, 1994, a federal judge in Los Angeles enjoined the state of California from enforcing Proposition 187, which would deny health, education and welfare benefits to illegal aliens and their children. The case eventually may reach the Supreme Court; and Governor Pete Wilson has called on the justices to overturn a 1982 decision, *Plyler* v. *Doe*, which held that a similar attempt by the state of Texas to throw the children of illegal aliens out of the public schools violated "fundamental conceptions of justice." In the meantime, Wilson says he wants to "send a message" to Congress about the need to share the costs of illegal immigration.

Congress has received a message; but not the one Wilson meant to send. Encouraged by polls showing rising hostility to aliens, House Republicans pledged, in their Contract with America, to cut off virtually all welfare benefits for legal immigrants who are under 75 years old. On January 9 Newt Gingrich said that he was ready to "revisit" this campaign promise; but other Republican leaders are standing firm. And, in any event, even if part of the contract is modified or abandoned, the political impulse behind it is not likely to disappear. The governors, furthermore, are still nervous. One effect of the proposal would be to shift even more of the costs of supporting legal immigrants onto the states, since the Supreme Court has said that states, but not Congress, must provide welfare benefits to citizens and aliens on equal terms. To complete the cycle of litigation, several states are now suing the federal government to recover the costs of supporting immigrants that Congress is frantically trying to avoid.

We are about to embark, in short, on a national cycle of nativism and legalism. But, if the country is to be saved from a nativist turn, salvation will have to come from Congress rather than the courts. For the *Plyler* decision, in which opponents of Proposition 187 are putting so much hope, is unconvincing as an act of constitutional interpretation, and the justices may well overturn it. And, on the national level, there is a long tradition of almost complete judicial deference to Congress in matters concerning the rights of aliens. If the Republicans decide, in the end, to carry out some version of their Contract with America, judges will not, and constitutionally should not, stand in the way.

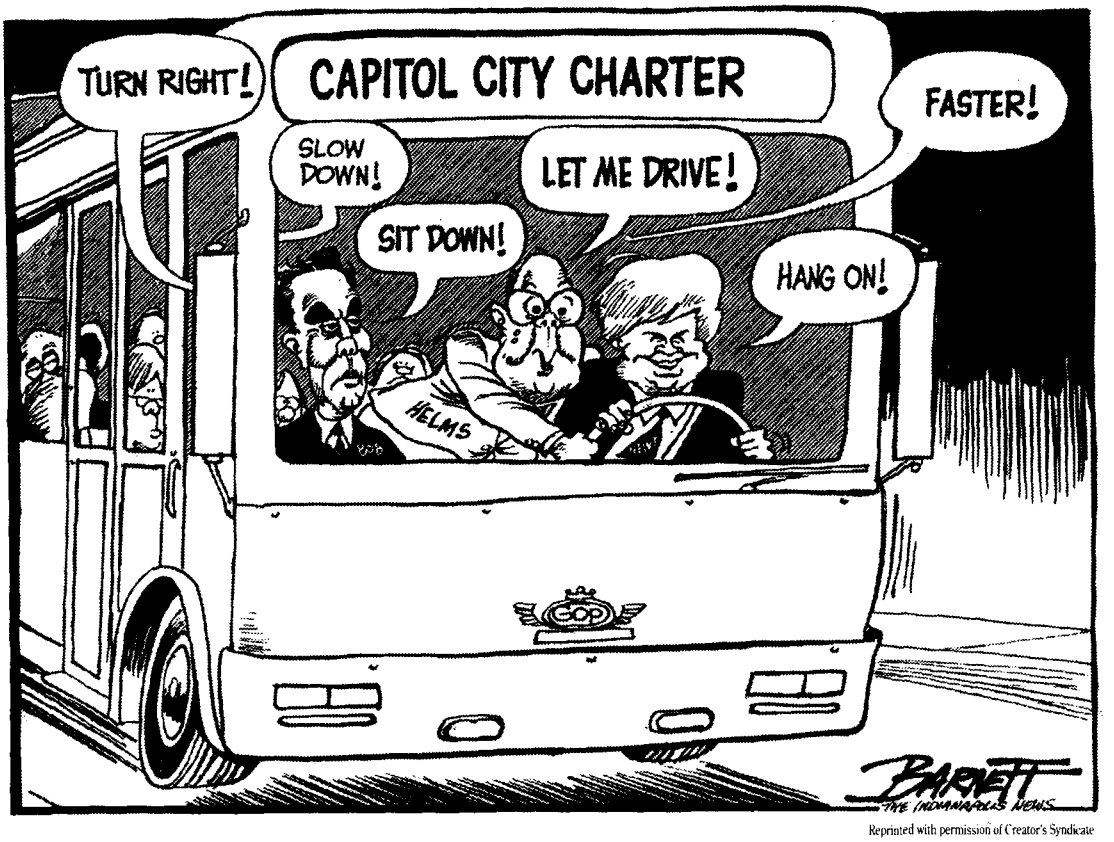
Judge Mariana Pfaelzer's December decision in *League of United Latin American Citizens* v. *Wilson* is a preview of the legal theories that will keep Proposition 187 tangled in the courts for the next few years. By requiring state officials to verify the immigration status of aliens, she says, California has usurped Congress's exclusive authority over immigration policy. Cutting off aliens' health and welfare benefits without a hearing may deprive them of liberty and property without due process of law. The loss of medical services for aliens could threaten the health of citizens. But Judge Pfaelzer is most confident about the unconstitutionality of denying public education to undocumented children. On this point, she says, "there is a clear likelihood of success" for the plaintiffs, "because of the existence of *Plyler* v. *Doe*."

But what if *Plyler* were overturned? The original 5-4 decision hung by a thread, and of the original majority, only Justice Stevens remains on the Court. Moreover, because of economic and political changes in immigration policy over the past decade, the three reasons that Justice William Brennan offered to justify his decision are even less persuasive today than they were in 1982.

First, Brennan claims that visiting the sins of the parents upon innocent children violates "fundamental conceptions of justice." Of course states can withhold benefits from adults who have broken its laws, says Brennan; but children shouldn't be punished for their parents' crimes. As Peter Schuck of Yale Law School has argued, Brennan's distinction between innocent children and guilty parents makes little sense. Why is denying free education to an innocent child any more unjust or painful than depriving the parents of public benefits, such as AFDC, that are earmarked for the innocent child's well-being? Isn't expelling the child from school less draconian than deporting him? As a policy matter, it may indeed be cruel and shortsighted to throw children onto the street, where they are more likely to commit crimes and become a burden on the state. But, as a constitutional matter, Brennan's "fundamental justice" standard is far too subjective to be convincing.

Second, Brennan relies, in his cost-benefit analysis, on empirical premises that are now inaccurate and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



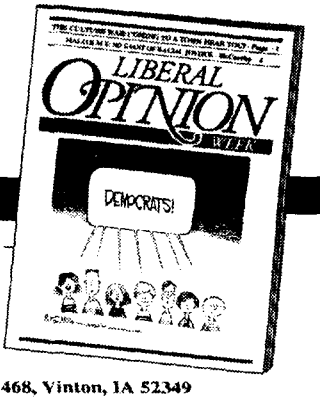
Reprinted with permission of Creator's Syndicate

IT'S GOING TO BE A BUMPY RIDE!

There is intellectual refuge from the impending onslaught. Arm yourself with *Liberal Opinion Week*. Each week *Liberal Opinion Week* brings you 32 pages of fact, opinion and thought- provoking commentary from more than 60 of the nation's most respected syndicated columnists and cartoonists —with no advertising.

It's going to be a rough two years.
Let *Liberal Opinion Week* soften your ride.

To order call: **1-800-338-9335**



SPECIAL OFFER: 13 Weekly Issues for $10.50

FEATURED COLUMNISTS — EVERY COLUMN, EVERY WORD

Molly Ivins, Mary McGrory, Richard Cohen, Jesse Jackson, Calvin Trillin, Lars-Erik Nelson, Deb Price, Linda Ellerbee, Dave Barry, David Broder, David Nyhan, Neal Peirce, Art Buchwald, Russell Baker, Ralph Nader, Nat Hentoff, Clarence Page, Ellen Goodman, Anna Quindlen, Mark Shields, Cynthia Tucker, Anderson & Binstein, Cohen & Solomon, Tony Kornheiser, Alexander Cockburn, James Hoagland

CONTRIBUTING COLUMNISTS — SELECTED COLUMNS WEEKLY, IN FULL

Les Payne, Donald Kaul, Andy Rooney, Colman McCarthy, Mark Russell, Robert Reno, Anthony Lewis, Germond & Witcover, Christopher Matthews, William Pfaff, Carl Rowan, Murray Kempton, William Raspberry, Hobart Rowen, Jimmy Breslin, Roger Simon, Mike Royko, Michael Kinsley

CONTRIBUTING CARTOONISTS

Jules Feiffer, 'Herblock', Duane Powell, Tom Toles, Dan Wasserman, Steve Sack, Doug Marlette, Jim Borgman, Mike Luckovich, Mike Peters, Taylor Jones, Ted Rall, Paul Szep, Jeff Danziger, Tom Tomorrow, Paul Conrad, Eleanor Mill, Bill Schorr, Rob Rogers, Joe Sharpnack

Liberal Opinion Week P.O. Box 468, Vinton, IA 52349

- ☐ Send a 13-week introductory subscription for $10.50
- ☐ One-year subscription (52 weekly issues) for $42.00
- ☐ Check enclosed ☐ VISA ☐ M.C. ☐ Bill Me

Card# _____ Exp. _____
Name _____
Address _____ Apt. _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____

(Foreign postage add $25.00, $6.50 for 13-week offer.) B

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

outdated. "There is no evidence in the record suggesting that illegal entrants impose any significant burden on the State's economy," Brennan announces breezily. "To the contrary, the available evidence suggests that illegal aliens underutilize public services, while contributing their labor to the local economy and tax money to the state fisc." Never mind the propriety of Supreme Court justices second-guessing the economic judgments of legislators. The data today present a very different picture.

In a study released last September, the Urban Institute estimated that 3.4 million illegal aliens lived in the United States in 1992; and 86 percent of them were concentrated in seven states: California, New York, Texas, Florida, Illinois, New Jersey and Arizona. The seven states spent nearly $4 billion on health care, education and incarceration for illegal aliens, while illegal aliens paid only $1.9 billion in sales taxes, property taxes and state income taxes. California, which has 1.4 million illegal aliens, one-third of the national total, is in an especially hard spot. During 1992 it spent $1.3 billion to keep 300,000 undocumented children in school (and another billion on Medicaid and prisons), while it collected only $732 million in taxes from illegal aliens.

How much of this loss is compensated by the economic expansion that accompanies immigration? The answer is hotly disputed, but most analysts believe the economic and tax benefits of legal and illegal immigration flow mainly to the federal government rather than the states. To make the burden on California and Texas even more unfair, Congress over the past decade has sharply reduced its already limited federal aid to immigrants. Meanwhile, the numbers of immigrants have risen to their highest levels in American history. (Nearly 10 million immigrants came during the 1980s, more than in any previous decade.) Since *Plyler* was decided, for example, federal spending on the only education grant program targeted at immigrant children has declined by 44 percent. These competing forces—high levels of immigration, declining federal aid to immigrants and judicial decisions that allow Congress, but not the states, to cut aliens off the rolls—created the economic and political frustration that bubbled over in Proposition 187. And they make clear that Brennan's hyperbole about illegal aliens not imposing "any significant burden" on state economies is too glib to accept.

Finally, Brennan relies heavily on Congress's purported policy of winking at illegal immigration. He makes much of the "lax enforcement of the laws barring entry into this country, coupled with the failure to establish an effective bar to the employment of undocumented aliens." He then refers to the uncertainty of the federal commitment to deport—he converts this into "an inchoate federal permission to remain"—and he concludes that state policies to crack down on undocumented aliens unconstitutionally conflict with Congress's more benevolent national policy.

Whatever can be said for this as a characterization of Congress's attitude in 1982, Brennan's argument is no longer tenable after the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. The act made it illegal for employers to hire undocumented workers, and it fined employers who broke the law. The employer sanctions tend to undermine Brennan's notion that "charging tuition to undocumented children constitutes a ludicrously ineffectual attempt to stem the tide of illegal immigration" when compared with the alternative of prohibiting the employment of undocumented adults. And other features of the 1986 act, including increased appropriations for border patrols, make it even harder to argue that Congress is continuing to ignore the violation of immigration laws.

The collapse of all three of Brennan's arguments during the past decade may convince the justices to overturn *Plyler* when they get the chance. Indeed, *Plyler* ought to be overturned: in the *Casey* abortion decision, Justices O'Connor, Kennedy and Souter stressed that landmark constitutional cases are most vulnerable when intervening changes have called their premises into question. What's more, if the justices do choose to overturn *Plyler*, they will be acting within a well-established tradition of deferring to Congress and the states when public benefits are reserved for citizens rather than aliens. The truth is, for most of its history, the Court has rarely resisted upsurges of nativism.

For nearly a century, from the 1870s to the 1970s, the states passed a dizzying series of laws excluding aliens from an array of occupations—from optometrist, dentist and doctor to teacher, police officer and pool-hall operator. The anti-alien laws are a grim record of the country's anxieties throughout the century; but the Supreme Court, without blinking, let most of them stand. In 1915, for example, Benjamin Cardozo, then an appellate judge, upheld a New York law that forbade legal aliens from being employed to build the New York City subways. "To disqualify aliens is discrimination, indeed," wrote Cardozo, "but not arbitrary discrimination, for the principle of exclusion is the restriction of the resources of the state to the advancement and profit of the state. Ungenerous and unwise such discrimination may be, it is not for that reason unlawful."

There is a rosier account of constitutional history, one that celebrates the role of judges in protecting the rights of aliens, but it is far less reliable. Its most celebrated advocate was Alexander Bickel of Yale Law School. In an influential essay published in 1975, he declared that the distinction between the rights of citizens and the rights of aliens "plays only the most minimal role in the American constitutional scheme"; and he insisted that when Congress and the states, in periodic fits of nativism, have singled out aliens for disabilities the Supreme Court has saved the country from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its worst instincts. "Citizenship," Bickel concluded, "is at best a simple idea for a simple government."

Despite his memorable aphorisms, Bickel's account of constitutional history is airbrushed and unpersuasive. For example, his notion that the original Constitution put the rights of citizens and aliens on the same level ignores Article IV, Section 2 of the Constitution, the so-called comity clause, which says that "the Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States." The main purpose of the clause was to ensure that a citizen of one state, when traveling to another, would be treated as a citizen rather than an alien. A lot rode on the distinction, because aliens had fewer common-law rights than citizens did. Most dramatically, aliens in many states were prohibited from owning land or inheriting real estate. As recently as 1948, the Supreme Court upheld a California law confining land ownership to citizens, and even today, seven states and the District of Columbia regulate the amount of land that aliens can own.

The Constitution itself, as William Rehnquist has noted, distinguishes between citizens and aliens no fewer than eleven times, in a document noted for its brevity. This is largely a legacy of the crisis over slavery. In 1857 Chief Justice Roger Taney held that Dred Scott could not sue for his freedom in federal court because the Constitution was a social contract made by and for citizens; and no black man, freedom or slave, could be regarded as one of the citizens for whom the Constitution was framed. In fact, Taney was probably correct to suggest that the Constitution used the phrases "We the people" and "citizens" as synonymous terms. It was Taney's historical claim—that free blacks had never been considered citizens under the Constitution—that was demonstrably false.

In their effort to exorcize the *Dred Scott* decision after the Civil War, the Reconstruction Republicans inscribed a distinction between citizens and aliens into the Constitution for all time. After setting out a national definition of citizenship—"all persons born or naturalized in the United States ... are citizens of the United States"—the Fourteenth Amendment goes on to distinguish between the "privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," which are denied to aliens, and the equal protection of the laws, which is extended to all persons, citizens and strangers alike. John Bingham, the author of the amendment, was dismissed by Bickel as a gasbag, "a man of enthusiastic rhetorical bent, on the whole of generous impulse, and of zero analytical inclination or capacity." In fact, Bingham was the James Madison of Reconstruction; and he had a coherent constitutional vision that centered on the meaning of citizenship.

The privileges and immunities of citizenship, Bingham thought, included the protections of the first eight amendments to the Bill of Rights, as well as—this is relevant for Proposition 187—a broad range of other rights and benefits provided by the states, such as public education. Bingham also strenuously objected to the decision by a handful of states to allow alien suffrage in federal elections, arguing that "the sovereignty of America" should be reserved for citizens alone. As Jamin Raskin has demonstrated, the experiment fizzled after World War I; and Arkansas became the last state to revoke alien suffrage in 1926.

Although Bingham and the Reconstruction Republicans thought aliens could be denied the privileges of citizenship, including voting, serving on juries and inheriting land, they didn't believe aliens had no rights at all. All persons, whether citizens or strangers, were entitled to equal protection—equal enforcement and administration—of laws designed to secure their life, liberty and property. In practice, this meant that states were free to discriminate against aliens as long as they didn't single out certain classes of aliens for special indignities. And so when waves of attacks on Chinese immigrants swept through California in 1870, and the California legislature imposed a series of wildly discriminatory taxes on the Chinese, Congress passed a civil rights statute to extend to aliens the protection of the laws. "I am opposed to Asiatics being brought here," said the sponsor, Senator William Stewart of Nevada. But "while they are here it is our duty to protect them [from] barbarous and cruel laws that place upon them unjust and cruel burdens."

Over the past 100 years, California has passed a gothic variety of laws discriminating against aliens; but the Court has balked only when some aliens were discriminated against more than others. In the landmark *Yick Wo* case in 1886, for example, when the city of San Francisco refused to issue licenses to Chinese immigrants who wanted to run laundries, the Supreme Court didn't hesitate to find a violation of the equal protection of the laws. But the case involved discrimination against the Chinese, not discrimination against aliens in general, and the Court held merely that California had to treat all aliens equally badly. In 1948, similarly, the Court struck down a California law denying commercial fishing licenses to aliens who were ineligible to become naturalized citizens. But the subtext, again, was race discrimination: until 1952 Japanese immigrants were forbidden to naturalize under federal law, and California was quietly trying to discriminate against the Japanese.

All of this helps to put the judicial activism of the 1970s and 1980s into context. The meaning of American citizenship was transformed not only by *Plyler* v. *Doe*, but also by Harry Blackmun's decision in *Graham* v. *Richardson*, which held that states cannot cut off welfare benefits for legal immigrants. Far from being "the authentic voice of the American Constitution," as Bickel magisterially called it, the decision is hard to fathom. With virtually no analysis, Blackmun designated legal aliens a "discrete and insular minority," and he declared that all state laws distinguishing between aliens and citizens must be scrutinized as rigorously as possible. Blackmun's sweeping notion that aliens are a "discrete and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

insular minority," and that they need special protection from the political process, is puzzling. Since aliens have long been excluded from voting in federal elections, presumably they're not meant to be full participants in the political process. But the justices soon pulled back from Blackmun's extravagant rhetoric. In 1976 they held that Congress's plenary control over immigration gives it broad discretion to discriminate against aliens, and therefore it could restrict Medicare benefits to legal aliens who had lived in the United States for five years. "Citizens," the Court announced deferentially, "may reasonably be presumed to have a greater affinity with the United States."

This is the unbalanced and unstable state of the law as the new Republican Congress decides whether to embark on a national debate about the relative entitlements of citizens and aliens. States are generally forbidden to draw distinctions between citizens and aliens when it comes to public benefits; Congress basically has carte blanche to deprive aliens of whatever benefits it likes. So, if the Republican Congress does, in the end, choose to cut off benefits for legal immigrants, the Supreme Court almost certainly will not intervene.

Within the context of a century of anti-alien legislation, how radical would the Republican welfare proposal be? Remember that most legal immigrants are already barred from receiving most forms of welfare for their first three to five years in the country, because their sponsors' incomes are "deemed" to be theirs when determining eligibility for public benefits. In theory, legal immigrants can also be deported if they become "public charges" at any point during the waiting period, although this is rarely enforced. The public charge exclusion has been an important part of American immigration law since Colonial days: it was codified after the Civil War when Congress banned the landing of any "lunatic, idiot or any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge."

As Gerald Neuman of Columbia Law School points out, American immigration policy has long been committed to the idea that immigrants shouldn't come here to collect welfare; but it has also held that immigrants who come to work, but fall on hard times for reasons beyond their control, shouldn't be treated differently than citizens. The United States has always viewed itself as a country where immigrants who are poor can work to become rich; and so immigration policy has been far more concerned about excluding the sick and disabled than deporting or discriminating against the indigent. The Clinton administration's less draconian welfare reform, which would make it harder for elderly immigrants to apply for retirement benefits after arrival, fits comfortably into this tradition. But the unadulterated Republican proposal, which envisions systematic discrimination against legal aliens, would be a dramatic departure.

The only non-nativist case that can be made for reducing public benefits for legal immigrants has to do with incentives to naturalize. Almost all of the savings under the original Republican welfare plan—$22 billion over five years—would come from legal immigrants whose "deeming" period has expired. As Michael Fix and Jeffrey Passel of the Urban Institute point out, virtually all of these immigrants have lived here long enough to become citizens, and, by naturalizing, they could reclaim the benefits that they would otherwise lose. A ban on public assistance for aliens, therefore, would be a strong, if perverse, incentive for aliens to join the national community as fully participating members, and in this respect it would help to restore the value of citizenship.

The phrase "national community," however, is hard to write without irony. Alexander Aleinikoff, now the general counsel of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, has argued that the notion of a "national community" is either an oxymoron or an exercise in wishful thinking when applied to the United States, which is far too large and diverse to promote the kinds of mutual obligations that one usually associates with a genuine community. There is also something ugly about national legislation that proposes to inflate the value of citizenship in such a backhanded way, as the inadvertent side effect of budget cutting. Rather than paying for welfare reform on the backs of legal immigrants, Congress should debate immigration reform on its own merits.

The most likely effect of the Republican welfare proposal, in whatever form it is enacted, would be to shift the cost of supporting immigrants onto the already overburdened states. After living here for more than five years, legal immigrants are unlikely to leave; and, rather than starving in streets, they will apply for the assistance that the Supreme Court has required the states to provide. Just as Proposition 187 is, at bottom, a problem of federalism—California is balking at supporting illegal immigrants that Congress refuses to acknowledge or deport—the Republican welfare proposal would provoke similar populist revolts in the states. This is especially ironic, coming from a Congress that purports to be so hostile to unfunded federal mandates.

One way for Congress to avoid this mess is to adopt a mix of policies along the lines recommended by the bipartisan U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform, chaired by Barbara Jordan: an increased commitment to deport illegal aliens, combined with short-term federal "impact aid" to the most heavily burdened states, to offset some of the costs of illegal immigration. As for legal immigrants, it might indeed make sense to ensure that a sponsor's promise to support an immigrant is legally enforceable for five or ten years. This would fit nicely with Newt Gingrich's emphasis on individual responsibility as the bedrock of welfare policy. And it would enlarge the scope of the Contract with America, creating a real social contract between citizens and strangers, rather than a restrictive covenant for citizens alone. •

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PUBLIC POLICY BULLETIN BOARD®

Recent Books and Reports from the Nation's Think Tanks and Advocacy Groups

HEALTH AFFAIRS, RECENT THEMATIC ISSUES

• **Medical Innovation: Risks and Rewards**
Advancing medical technology versus cost containment. Plus: new technology, reform and innovation, lessons from Europe about health reform and the pharmaceutical industry, technology assessment, academic health centers, and more. Summer 1994. 279 pp.

• **Violence and the Public's Health**
What cost violence? *Health Affairs* examines costs to victims and society. Also: gun control, school-based violence prevention programs, the links between delinquency, drugs and violence, recognizing domestic violence, and a policy research agenda for firearms. Winter 1993. 262 pp.

• **The Clinton Plan: Pro and Con** *Spring I 1994, 350 pp.*

• **Managed Competition: Health Reform American Style?** *Supplement 1993. 300 pp.*

All back issues $25 in USA and Canada. To order, call *Health Affairs* now. Tel. 301-656-7401; fax 301-654-2845.

NEW REPORT ON RETIREMENT FROM PUBLIC AGENDA AND EBRI

Promises to Keep: How Leaders and the Public Respond to Saving and Retirement offers a comprehensive look at why many Americans aren't preparing responsibly for retirement. The study, researched and written by Public Agenda in collaboration with the Employee Benefit Research Organization (EBRI), finds that while most Americans acknowledge personal responsibility for their retirement, many do not act on this conviction. The report details the major barriers to action, including cultural factors and personality traits, and offers several suggestions for improving communication with the public on retirement. Copies are available at no charge from Public Agenda, 6 E. 39th St., New York, NY 10016; 212-686-6610; fax: 212-889-3461.

INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES

Common Interest Communities: Private Governments and the Public Interest, Steven E. Barton and Carol J. Silverman, editors. Thirty five million Americans now live in condominiums, cooperatives, and planned unit developments. Here, for the first time, experts describe and analyze the quiet revolution these communities are making in private government, real estate management and regulation, and neighborhood relations in the U.S., Israel, Japan, and the Netherlands. October, 1994, 318 pp., paper, $23.95 ISBN 0-87772-359-1. To order write Institute of Governmental Studies, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720-2370 or call (510) 642-6723.

THE JEROME LEVY ECONOMICS INSTITUTE OF BARD COLLEGE

***Infrastructure Investment for Tomorrow,* "A Financing Plan to Eliminate the Deferred Maintenance on the Nation's Roads,"** *Public Policy Brief* No. 16, by Edward V. Regan, presents a long-term public investment proposal to preserve and upgrade the nation's infrastructure system. Regan offers a unique financing plan to eliminate much of the backlog of deferred maintenance that plagues America's roads and bridges. To order call (914) 758-7700 or write: The Jerome Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, 12504-5000.

***Monetary Policy Uncovered,* "Flying Blind: The Federal Reserve's Experiment with Unobservables,"** *Public Policy Brief* No. 15, by Dimitri B. Papadimitriou and L. Randall Wray, analyzes the relative success or failure of targets used by the Federal Reserve in setting monetary policy and the effects of these policy decisions on the economy. To order call (914) 758-7700, or write: The Jerome Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, 12504-5000.

THE PUBLIC POLICY BULLETIN BOARD® IS AN ADVERTISING SERVICE OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & The Arts

Stanley Kauffmann on Films

Madness in Great Ones

Scarlet begins it. British officers swirl into an antechamber of Windsor in 1788, their scarlet uniforms declarative of pomp and glory, the dresses of the ladies around them glittering in complement. Thus Nicholas Hytner opens **The Madness of King George** (Samuel Goldwyn), establishing the visual drama of court life as an element, not mere background, in the political and personal conflicts shortly to follow.

The film is adapted by Alan Bennett from his play *The Madness of George III.* (The title was altered slightly so that we movie mutts won't think this is the second sequel to a first film about George.) Hytner directed the play's premiere for the (London) National Theater, and this production was brought to New York. For those who, like myself, were disappointed in the play, the film contains pleasant surprises, all of them resulting from differences between the two arts.

The story starts just before the onset of King George's first bout of madness, then follows his treatment by several physicians, his recovery and his resumption of power. Wound into this account, itself harrowing and pathetic by turns, are all the strands dependent on the king's condition. Political balance varies from day to day according to the color of the royal urine, which is supposedly an index to his recovery. The opposing leaders in the House of Commons, Pitt the Younger and Fox jockey to keep or get control, and they vie to maneuver the Prince of Wales, whose hopes rise and fall as his father's health falls and rises. (Some digs about royal-family behavior have present-day sting.)

All of the above, as material for drama, may sound remote and moldy to modern viewers. Shakespeare can grip us with stories of English kings, but even he had occasional troubles. (Take another look at *King John.*) Lesser dramatists, which all other dramatists are, have crammed theaters and libraries with plays about royal hugger-mugger that are torpid. There are usually two troubles with them. Only a really vitalizing art can make us empathize today with royal lives; and history isn't artistic—it insists on longueurs, and it doesn't always provide climaxes.

On the first score, Bennett's play does better than most. The fear and fascination of madness links kings and commoners. And Bennett's dialogue can glisten. He writes in chewy morsels that render period speech with a modern edge. Says the Prince of Wales: "To be heir to the throne is not a position; it is a predicament." Or the king to a doctor who had previously been a clergyman:

> KING: You have quitted a profession I have always loved, and embraced one I heartily detest.
> WILLIS: Our Saviour went about healing the sick.
> KING: Yes, but he had not £700 a year for it.

Bennett can be nicely wry. In one episode Dr. Willis orders the king to read aloud, as therapy presumably, a scene from Shakespeare, and they light on the recognition scene from *King Lear,* in which the mad Lear recovers. (Bennett would have gotten more from this episode if he had told us that this was possibly the last time these words were spoken in George's lifetime. When his madness subsequently returned, Shakespeare's text was banned from the stage; only a prettified version was performed until George's death in 1820.)

But on the second score, even Bennett's clever style on stage didn't triumph over an integral burden of fact. *Madness* was not a play but a chronicle. There was no climax. Some things happened; then they stopped happening. Bennett tried to compensate by inserting, just before the finish, a flash-forward, which told us that the madness was going to recur and that our century would discover that the trouble was physiological, not psychological. But the flash-forward didn't make us forget that we had spent a long evening only to return to the situation where it all started.

Thus the play. Bennett's film adaptation omits the last-minute warning of more trouble ahead—along with other trimming—yet it's much stronger than the play. True, the film audience will now believe at the end that the king was permanently cured; so, in script terms, the film is even more of a chronicle than the play. Yet, paradoxically, it is more gripping than the play. The simple explanation: it is a film.

As film, *Madness* is strong proof that the immediacy of the human counte-

FILMS WORTH SEEING

Colonel Chabert. *Gérard Depardieu is hewn out of rock in this Balzac tale of an unexpected survivor of a Napoleonic battle. Deft and bitter. (Reviewed 12/26/94)* **Nobody's Fool.** *Paul Newman's presence holds together this exploration of small-town life. Some ultimate plotting, but best when it sticks to dailiness. (1/9/95)* **Red.** *Its quiet tensions, implied passions and hints of violence suggest Chabrol, but it's by Krzysztof Kieslowski. It deals centrally with a young woman and a retired judge. (12/19/94)* **Vanya on 42nd Street.** *American acting of Chekhov at its finest. A group of actors gathers in an abandoned theater for a run-through of "Uncle Vanya." A treasure. (11/7/94)*—**SK**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nance, the almost palpable verities of costume and place, the ranges of vista, the enforcements of rhythm—all of them film prerogatives—can fuse and create genuine dramatic sustenance. It happened, for example, in Rosselini's *The Rise of Louis XIV*, and it happens again here.

I suggest no superiority of film art over theater art: I'm describing a difference. (To note one contrary instance of the theater's power: no film, however great, has done for me precisely what Mnouchkine's *Les Atrides* did.) A central beauty of the theater is that it can suggest physicalities, though it often fulfills them; a central beauty of film is that it can fulfill physicalities, though it often suggests them. In the case of *Madness*, helped marvelously by the deployment of Handel on the soundtrack, film fulfills.

Nigel Hawthorne, who was George in the National production, plays him again here. He was scintillating on stage, and he's even better here—because it's film. Skilled and vivid though his theater performance was, it impressed most in its marathon effect: Hawthorne did the whole long demanding role right there before us in one evening. On film, obviously, that effect disappears, and his acting supervenes. Here it scintillates even more brightly, shrewd, vain, pathetic, regal. And film brings us a Hawthorne quality that escaped me in the theater: his resemblance, in face and voice and speech and flavor, to Ralph Richardson. Wonderful. Film can certainly use such an actor. Is it too late for Hawthorne to have Richardson's latter-day career?

Most helpful among the others are Julian Wadham as Pitt, Jim Carter as Fox, Rupert Everett as the Prince (though he's not as fat as his father keeps complaining) and John Wood as the cobra Thurlow. Ian Holm is not his most incisive self as Dr. Willis. Helen Mirren, who plays Queen Charlotte, doesn't convince as the mother of fifteen children, nor does she consistently sound German, which Charlotte was. The costume designer, Mark Thompson, has seen the entire company ingeniously, as figures out of Zoffany and Rowlandson and (no ancestor, alas) Angelica Kauffmann. Andrew Dunn, the impressive cinematographer, serves both the director and the designer with perceptible relish.

A comparative study, international, immense, could be done of directors who have worked in both theater and film. Some broad categories are apparent. First, directors whose style is essentially unchanged in both arts—Kazan and Nichols, for instance. Second, those whose theater and film works are markedly different. A towering instance

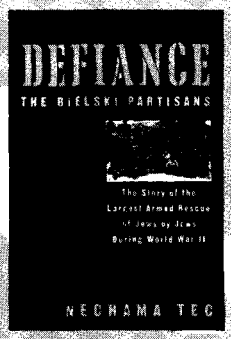
NEW IN PAPERBACK!

Winner of the Anne Frank Special Recognition Prize

DEFIANCE

THE BIELSKI PARTISANS

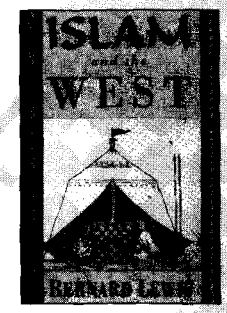
NECHAMA TEC



"Powerful and meticulous....*Defiance* must be cherished."—Leon Wieseltier, *The New Republic*

"Elevating and inspiring....An accomplished and startling work of Holocaust documentation."
—*The Los Angeles Times*

294 pp., 13 halftones, 2 maps, $13.95



ISLAM AND THE WEST

BERNARD LEWIS

"Brilliant...weaves a seamless web between past and present."—Fouad Ajami, *The Wall Street Journal*

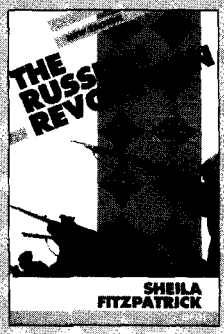
"Erudite...powerful and revealing. Everywhere in this book Mr. Lewis's commanding achievement is evident."—*The New York Times Book Review*

240 pp., $12.95

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

SECOND EDITION

SHEILA FITZPATRICK

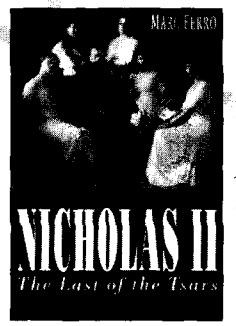


Praise for the first edition:

"An admirable effort to rescue from politics the greatest upheaval of modern times and reclaim it for history."—*Newsweek*

"Meticulously researched and documented and very easy, not to say absorbing reading."—*Socialist Standard*

208 pp., $10.95



NICHOLAS II

LAST OF THE TSARS

MARC FERRO

"Skillfully quoting from numerous letters and diaries, Ferro reconstructs the essential Nicholas."
—*Library Journal*

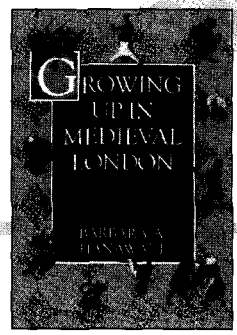
"Upon a well-conceived framework Ferro hangs telling and even colorful detail, resulting in a sound biography of wide appeal."—*Booklist*

336 pp., 14 halftones, 2 figs., $13.95

GROWING UP IN MEDIEVAL LONDON

THE EXPERIENCE OF CHILDHOOD IN HISTORY

BARBARA HANAWALT



"Informative, fluid, and often charming."
—*Kirkus Reviews*

"Entertaining....Full of valuable information, enjoyably presented and extremely well-documented."
—*Wilson Library Bulletin*

320 pp., 11 linecuts, $12.95

AT BETTER BOOKSTORES OR DIRECTLY FROM OXFORD PAPERBACKS
Oxford University Press • 200 Madison Avenue • New York • NY • 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is Bergman: to judge by the three theater pieces of his that I've seen, his films allow him to shed gimmicks and concentrate on intensity. Hytner, much lower in the scale, is also in this second group, a director whose film work is distinct from his theater approach.

I've seen two of his theater productions, *Madness* and *Carousel*, and thought that, contradictorily, *Carousel* had less musical-comedy fluency than *Madness*. But the film of *Madness* displays new resources in Hytner—freedoms offered and exploited, motion understood as something other than action and speed, a comprehension of texture itself as a form of dynamics.

In *Hamlet* Claudius says, "Madness in great ones must not unwatch'd go." Hytner, Bennett, Hawthorne and their colleagues ensure that George will be watched. •

Robert Brustein on Theater

Intellect Into Passion

This is the year of Tony Kushner in the United States and Tom Stoppard in England, and both currently have new plays on the New York stage. Kushner's **Slavs** is more modestly conceived than his epic *Angels in America* and perhaps for that reason has not been greeted with the same riotous abandon. Still, despite its disorderly plot and random structure, I found *Slavs* more weighty, more moving and more intelligent than Stoppard's flashier, better-constructed, more warmly received *Hapgood* (at the Mitzi E. Newhouse Theater in Lincoln Center). I'll try to stifle my temptation to generalize, on the basis of this opinion, about the comparative state of playwriting in the two countries.

Slavs has been described as a work built on outtakes from *Angels in America*. It is true that the play borrows one character (and portions of his opening speech) from Kushner's *Perestroika*—namely, the world's oldest and most garrulous Bolshevik, Aleksii Antedilluvianovich Prelapsarianov. But while Kushner admits that the entire first act of *Slavs* was cut from the earlier work, it nevertheless seems like a genuinely new play, even something of a new direction for this young artist. If Tennessee Williams was Kushner's model for the anguished personal relationships of *Angels* (discounting the underplot involving the historical Roy Cohn), here he seems to be more indebted to Bernard Shaw. Instead of an investigation of sexual transactions, *Slavs* looks more like a Shavian play of ideas. Considering its nimble mental dancing and rhetorical virtuosity, it looks even more like a Shavian preface. But as in Shaw at his best, the intellectual pirouettes in *Slavs* build to a genuine emotional climax.

The painful question asked throughout the play is the same one that Lenin, glancing at the title of a Chernyshevsky novel, asked throughout his revolutionary career: "What is to be done?" Despite the failure of communism and the discrediting of Marx—as dramatized by Stalin's crimes and conceded by Gorbachev's reforms—neither social injustice nor economic inequity has disappeared from the earth. But for the first time in this century there is no left-wing ideology, however misguided, to inspire hope for change—not even through the agency of benevolent political movements such as Democratic Socialism, the New Deal or the welfare state. Progressive theory is now being abandoned, "and how," as Prelapsarianov moans, "are we to proceed without *theory*?" Blindly and pragmatically, that's how, into the heartless individualism and unregulated greed of Newt Gingrich's Contract with America.

Kushner regards this sorry situation with the inexpressibly mournful eyes of a disillusioned yet deeply engaged radical thinker whose red diaper has left him with a permanent rash. Like many former socialists, he is still committed to action but robbed of any means to effectuate it. And like many of the best modern playwrights, he dramatizes this problem without offering any answer, confirming that the artist's role is to ask the questions, not to suggest the solutions.

The most moving formulation of the dilemma is made in the play by an 8-year-old "nuclear mutation" named Vodya Domik, a little mute girl who died as a result of the Chernobyl accident. Having recovered her voice along with preternatural vision in heaven, she reflects, "Perhaps it is true that social justice, economic justice, equality, community, an end to master and slave, the withering away of the state: these are desirable but not realizable on earth ... and to the ravages of capitalism there will be no conceivable alternative." To which Prelapsarianov, also in heaven contemplating a hopeless future, replies, "It is bitter."

It *is* bitter, and most of the play is devoted to dramatizing how such a tragic situation could have evolved out of a system nominally devoted to resolving those inequities. The action begins in ice-cold Moscow in the year 1985 where two *babushkas* are sweeping the streets of snow (a Sisyphean enterprise) while discussing the failures of Marxism. Before long, five long-winded commissars are engaging in further discussion of their disintegrating system. They bewail a future dominated by American commercial interests, a future of Burger Kings and Pizza Huts. During their interminable debates ("logorrhea, not revolution"), they become persuaded that the reason evil always triumphs is that progressive people are the political enemies of a Menshevik God.

When two of these old Bolshies, starting with Prelapsarianov, expire on stage from too much theorizing, the discussion proceeds over their dead bodies. This provides some frantic farcical interludes, but in the next scene the vaudeville ingredients of the plot begin to sour, as a young female security guard, curator for the stored brains of dead Soviet functionaries, is propositioned by one of the commissars. A lesbian and an anarchist, she refuses to respond to his amorous advances, and, following a hilarious drunken debauch, he retaliates by sending her and her woman lover, the oncologist Bonfila Bonch-Bruevich, to Siberia.

It is in a desolate Siberian medical facility in 1992, where Bonfila is vainly trying to treat the cancer victims of Chernobyl, that the play begins to find its true form, evolving from intellectual farce into political tragedy. The same fat-headed bureaucrats have survived into the new Russia, no less indifferent to the suffering of the masses, whose despair is read in the blank eyes of the voiceless little girl and the irrepressible fury of her mother.

The cumulative power of the final scene in heaven comes as a surprise considering how the play has wandered in its disunified journey through so many variations of style and purpose. But it is in this poignant episode that Kushner realizes Pirandello's ambition "*to convert the intellect into passion*"—not only through the exercise of a fervent intelligence but through his capacity to write really meaty roles for actors. These roles are performed with vigor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and penetration, though perhaps with excessive Russian accents, under the otherwise expert direction of Lisa Peterson. I particularly liked Joseph Wiseman as Prelapsarianov, a doddering skeleton afflicted with verbal diarrhea, as well as Gerald Hiken, John Christopher Jones, Ben Hammer and David Chandler as the Gogolian apparatchiks Serge Esmereldovich Upgobkin, Ippolite Ippopolitovich Poplitipov, Vassily Vorovilich Smukov and Yegor Tremens Rodent.

On the distaff side, I was strongly impressed by Marisa Tomei as the galvanic Katherina, Mary Shultz as the harassed Bonfila and Barbara eda-Young as the furious mother of the contaminated child ("Fuck this century! Fuck your leader! Fuck the state!"). Praise must also go to Neil Patel for set design, Gabriel Berry for costumes and Christopher Akerlind for lighting. But we should especially praise Tony Kushner for being able to create a deteriorating social and political universe so far away and yet so near. *Slavs* is proof that he is capable of imagining reality through something other than a sexual prism.

Tom Stoppard's **Hapgood** is another intellectual exercise, but only intermittently does it manage to convert intellect into passion. Stoppard's research into his subject—the intricacies of state espionage—is no doubt as rigorous as Kushner's into Marxism. But whereas Kushner uses his intelligence to advance his theme, Stoppard wears his brilliance on his sleeve. After seeing *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*, I called this playwright a "university wit." He remains the cleverest conversationalist in the common room, but he is still behaving more like a ventriloquist than an artist. I think I'd rather listen to him be brilliant without the intervention of stuffed characters.

Nevertheless, *Hapgood* is graced with a stunning performance by Stockard Channing, who is fast becoming the leading lady on the American stage (she may be the only leading lady on the American stage). Whatever interior life the play possesses is her contribution, though the rest of the cast (particularly David Straitharn as a Russian physicist who is either a double, triple or quadruple agent and Josef Sommer as his laconic control) offers strong support. Jack O'Brien's direction is liquid and graceful and Bob Crowley's setting—an abstract surround that effortlessly transforms, with the aid of Wendall K. Harrington's imaginative projections, into a variety of specific locations—maintains this Irish artist's eminent place in the world of stage design.

Indeed, the evening possesses everything except a coherent dramatic purpose. Partially conceived as a rather condescending satire on the spy novels of John Le Carré, *Hapgood* is such an intricate series of pyrotechnics, such a dazzling display of plot maneuvers illuminated by artificial light, that your interest in the outcome grows anesthetized. Beginning with a dizzying chase in a Saint Paul's swimming pool (the year is 1989) after an undisclosed double agent deposits purloined though useless secrets in a locker, the play grows more involved with the convolutions of spydom than with the identity of the spy. Nothing is really at stake in this impossibly dense charade except the complexity of the plotting. Everyone is a suspect but, lost in the maze of the opaque action, we lose interest in its resolution. Stoppard attempts to intellectualize this cryptic procedure with references to quantum mechanics and Heisenberg's uncertainty theory, but he only manages to distance us further.

Through an analogy between a double agent and twins, Stoppard eventually exposes the identity of the real Russian spy in a melodramatic climax, but by this time he's lost the audience. "Frankly I don't know which side I'm supposed to be working," remarks one of the agents, and frankly we don't care. None of these characters has much emotional life, aside from Channing's Hapgood—a vaguely neurotic but elegant Mayfair matron in the style of Maggie Smith (watch her say goodbye to her lover, first awkwardly, then passionately, before rearranging her features to cheer on her soccer-playing son). Stoppard is confident in his knowledge of particle physics, but his grasp of human behavior is less sure. Everybody's motives are entirely clear. Only the plot is cloudy.

I'm going to break my resolution to avoid comparative generalizations with the following observation. American drama, with some notable exceptions, is often crude, untidy, undisciplined, overwritten, but pulsing with subterranean power, on the model of Eugene O'Neill. British drama, with some notable exceptions, is often polished, civilized, witty, technically ingenious, but rather undernourished emotionally, on the model of Noel Coward. Harold Pinter and the late John Osborne, especially in their early plays, fed an infusion of new working-class energy into English theater without losing the Coward connection. David Mamet and Tony Kushner introduced a supply of wit and intelligence into American theater without losing the O'Neill connection. The better playwrights of both countries narrow the ocean that divides us. The less ones keep us insular and disengaged. •

The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia

EDITED BY MARK PINSON

Fine Arts Library, Harvard University

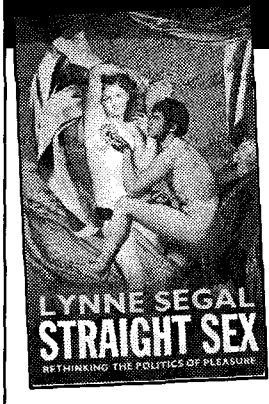
"A splendid collection of essays."
—Fouad Ajami, NEW REPUBLIC

Ranging from medieval times to the collapse of Yugoslavia in 1992, this unique volume concentrates on the internal development of the Muslim community in Bosnia-Herzegovina and its relations with various suzerains. While current discussions of this population focus primarily on the legal and strategic aspects of the contemporary situation, this book explores the key periods and events in the historical evolution of this rich and unusual community.

Harvard Studies in Middle Eastern Monographs, 28

New in Paperback. At bookstores or from
Harvard University Press
Toll-free: 800 448 2242

"A stunning manifesto of sexual liberation."*



"Once again, Segal cuts through feminist ambivalence about sex with great intelligence, verve, and courage."
—BARBARA EHRENREICH*

STRAIGHT SEX
Rethinking the Politics of Pleasure
by Lynne Segal

$35.00 cloth, $15.00 paper at bookstores

University of California Press

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Founding Brothers

BY JOSEPH J. ELLIS

The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison 1776-1826 edited by James Morton Smith

(W.W. Norton, 3 volumes, 2,073 pp., $150)

Perhaps all heroes are conveyed to posterity as singular and solitary beings. In the case of Thomas Jefferson, however, the splendor of his isolation seems an essential aspect of his reputation. Jefferson's ultimate act of solitary creation was, of course, the drafting of the Declaration of Independence in June 1776. Sitting in a Windsor chair with his lap-desk and a quill pen, he wrote the magic words of American history. President John Kennedy conjured up this solitary image of Jefferson in his often-quoted remark to the Nobel laureates invited to the White House in 1962: it was, Kennedy observed, "the most extraordinary collection of talents that has ever been gathered at the White House, with the possible exception when Thomas Jefferson dined alone."

James Morton Smith's magisterial collection of the complete correspondence between Jefferson and James Madison should prompt some spirited revisions of the popular imagery. Instead of a mystical loner always gazing presciently into the middle distance, we should now imagine Jefferson standing beside a diminutive fellow Virginian, a confidante who is forever whispering wisdom into his ear and silently editing all his speeches and writings. Indeed, John Quincy Adams long ago hinted at the collaborative character of all things Jeffersonian:

> Mr. Madison was the intimate, confidential and devoted friend of Mr. Jefferson, and the mutual influence of these two mighty minds upon each other is a phenomenon, like the invisible and mysterious movements of the magnet in the physical world, and in which the sagacity of the future historian may discover the solution of much of our national history not otherwise easily accountable.

The special relationship between Jefferson and Madison became a human version of the principle of checks and balances. Jefferson was the visionary idealist; Madison, the canny realist. Together, they created an ideological whole greater than the sum of its parts, and it became the foundation of the liberal tradition in American politics.

Intellectually, the high point in each of their lives came early. For Jefferson, it was the authorship of the Declaration of Independence in 1776; for Madison, it was the burst of creativity in the 1780s, when he helped to write the Constitution, the *Federalist Papers* and the Bill of Rights. But the collaboration was just getting started. It kept going for fifty years, through the tumultuous political battles of the 1790s against the Federalists, through Jefferson's presidency (when Madison was secretary of state), through Madison's presidency and the War of 1812 (here Jefferson was the patriarchal presence offering advice from Monticello), through their retirement years when they lived only a few miles from each other in Virginia. It did not even end with Jefferson's death in 1826, since Madison honored Jefferson's request to "take care of me when dead" by defending the Jeffersonian legacy against the claims of Southern secessionists in the 1830s. Smith's impeccable edition of their correspondence documents the doggedness of America's premier political partnership. The formidable team of Jefferson and Madison simply outsmarted and outlasted everybody else.

How did they do it? A part of the answer can be found in their instantaneous understanding of their different roles and their common purposes. Starting in 1778, when Jefferson was governor of Virginia and Madison served on his executive council, Jefferson was always the senior partner and Madison the loyal lieutenant. (In 1783 they began to encode the politically sensitive parts of their letters.) Madison became Jefferson's movable artillery piece in each political battle. "I want you in the Virginia Assembly," wrote Jefferson in 1785, "and also in the Congress, yet we can't have you everywhere." When Patrick Henry came out against Jefferson's reforms of the Virginia Constitution, Madison was dispatched to thwart him, though Jefferson acknowledged that Henry's oratorical prowess rendered debate futile, concluding that the only thing to do was "devoutly to pray for his death."

The same pattern held true during the boisterous 1790s, with Hamilton and the Federalists cast in the role of the enemy: "Hamilton is really a colossus," Jefferson acknowledged to Madison in 1795. "Without numbers, he is a host within himself.... In truth, when he comes forward, there is nobody but yourself who can meet him." When Hamilton proposed his banking and funding schemes, Jefferson ordered Madison into print: "For God's sake, take up your pen, select the most striking heresies and cut him to pieces." Throughout Jefferson's term as secretary of state and then vice president, Madison worked behind the scenes to mobilize the opposition party, allowing Jefferson to maintain what we would now call "deniability" by remaining above the fray.

In private, Jefferson described George Washington's remarks on the Whiskey Rebellion as "stuff from Aesop's fables and Tom Thumb." In public, however, he praised Washington's bottomless virtue and claimed to yearn for his own retirement at Monticello. (This prompted John Adams to observe that "it is marvelous how political plants grow in the shade.") Meanwhile, Madison was hiring journalists to defame Hamilton and Adams, and paving the way for Jefferson's election as president. "I shall always," he reported back to Monticello, "receive your commands with pleasure." Jefferson could afford to emphasize the broadest contours of a political problem because Madison was silently handling the messier specifics. If God was in the details, so the story goes, Madison was usually there to greet him upon arrival.

The sheer density of the details here is likely to pose a problem for some readers. Unlike the Adams-Jefferson correspondence, one does not encounter epiphanies on every page. These letters are not the distilled musings of two philosopher-kings so much as day-by-day battlefield reports from two commanders in the field. Especially during Jefferson's presidency, and to a slightly lesser extent during Madison's, the meditative moments are crowded out by memo-like exchanges about tariff rates, the shifting fortunes of Napoleon, British diplomatic maneuverings and the insufferable arrogance of the Barbary pirates. (Even within the dense diplomatic underbrush, there are occasional flashes of wit, as when the Tunisian ambassador demands concubines for his delegation in Washington and Madison tells Jefferson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

he is charging the expense to "appropriations to foreign intercourse.") The mutual trust at the heart of the collaboration and the friendship depended upon shared assumptions that did not require articulation. And because Madison, unlike Adams, tended to defer to Jefferson rather than defy and challenge him, the correspondence as a whole will disappoint anyone expecting a succession of intellectual airbursts.

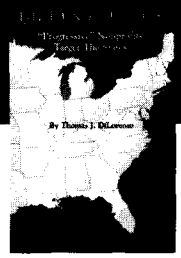
But in friendship, as in politics, the importance of the ordinary is usually underestimated. This correspondence provides eloquent testimony on the binding and bonding effect of mundane events. The mutual plottings against Hamilton and Adams, for example, occur within a context of shared thoughts on falling wheat prices, the reproductive capacities of merino sheep, the anatomy of native American weasels and road conditions around Fredericksburg. Speculations on the likely outcome of the French Revolution are embedded within comical comments about "the mystery of the missing pecans," part of a futile effort to discover who pilfered the package of nuts Madison had sent to Jefferson in France.

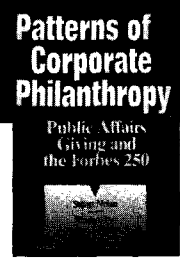
They also shared their mutual inadequacies. Neither man was very good at managing a government during wartime; each had the dubious distinction of watching the capital entrusted to him burned to the ground by the British; both lived with the contradiction of owning slaves while claiming to abhor slavery, another subject they silently agreed not to talk about. In short, the collaboration worked because the friendship worked. And the friendship worked because the mutual trust on which it was based was regularly reinforced in all the countless little ways.

In some very big ways, however, the two patriarchs were sufficiently different in temperament and in the central thrusts of their political thinking to make one wonder just how the partnership endured with such apparent serenity. Granted, they both began their careers as opponents of British power over the Colonies and retained a strong hatred of English imperial arrogance throughout their lives. Both regarded the Federalists, especially the Hamiltonians, as Anglophiles with aristocratic tendencies that represented a betrayal of the republican faith. Both feared concentrations of political power at the federal level, most graphically illustrated by Adams's Alien and Sedition Acts. Both misjudged the capacity of American commerce to influence English and French policy toward American nationhood and suffered the failure of the dis-

NEW FROM

CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER





"Hidden Politics" by Dr. Thomas J. DiLorenzo, an inside look at how America's activist non-profit organizations seek to expand the power of government.

"Information to break a peculiar philanthropic pattern: major corporations giving money to groups whose agendas are the antithesis of free enterprise."
Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.
Editor-In-Chief, Forbes Magazines

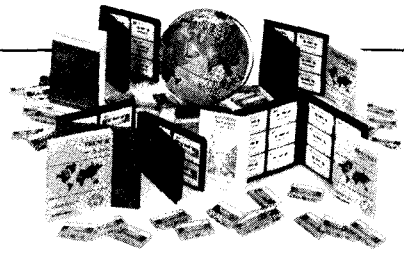
"Why does Corporate America invest its charitable resources in groups that want to raise taxes and increase government spending and regulation?"
Newt Gingrich
Speaker, House of Representatives

"Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy" by Stuart Nolan, the 8th Annual edition of the book that analyzes public affairs giving by corporate America.

Capital Research Center

For a copy of these books send $5.00 for "Hidden Politics" and $25.00 for "Patterns of Corporate Philanthropy" to:
Capital Research Center • 727 15th Street N.W. • Suite 800 • Washington, DC 20005

Learn Another Language on Your Own!



Learn to speak a foreign language fluently on your own and at your own pace with what are considered the finest in-depth courses available. Many were developed by the Foreign Service Institute of the U.S. Department of State for diplomatic personnel who must learn a language quickly and thoroughly. Emphasis is on learning to speak and to understand the spoken language. A typical course (equivalent to a college semester) includes an album of 10 to 12 audio cassettes (10 to 18 hours), recorded by native-born speakers, plus a 250-page textbook.

☐ Arabic (Saudi)	$185	☐ Japanese	$185	☐ Serbo-Croatian	$195
☐ Cantonese	$185	☐ Korean	$195	☐ Slovak	$185
☐ French	$185	☐ Lakota	$185	☐ Spanish	$185
☐ French Level II	$215	☐ Latvian	$185	☐ Spanish Level II	$165
☐ German	$185	☐ Lithuanian	$135	☐ Swahili	$225
☐ German Level II	$155	☐ Mandarin	$185	☐ Swedish	$185
☐ Greek	$185	☐ Persian	$185	☐ Tagalog	$295
☐ Hebrew	$255	☐ Polish	$185	☐ Thai	$195
☐ Hindi (Intermed)	$185	☐ Portuguese (Brazilian)	$215	☐ Turkish	$195
☐ Hungarian	$195			☐ Ukrainian	$195
☐ Italian	$185	☐ Russian	$255	☐ Vietnamese	$225

You can order now with a full 3-week money-back guarantee, by calling toll-free **1-800-243-1234** or by fax (203) 453-9774, or by mail by clipping this ad and sending with your name and address and a check or money order — or charge to any major credit card, by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature. Our 60-page *Whole World Language Catalog* offers courses in 91 languages Call or write for your free copy. Our 23rd year.

AUDIO-FORUM® THE LANGUAGE SOURCE

Audio-Forum, Room E160,
96 Broad St., Guilford, CT 06437 (203) 453-9794

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

astrous embargo of 1807 as a result. Beneath these areas of obvious agreement, however, lay several fundamental differences of opinion about the true meaning of the American Revolution.

The most famous exchange in the correspondence dramatizes these differences quite nicely. In 1789 an excited Jefferson presented Madison with a newfound political principle, the doctrine that "the earth belongs to the living." This bizarre but characteristically Jeffersonian idea was rooted in his aversion to any and all forms of overt coercion, to include the influence of past laws or inherited debts. "We seem not to have perceived," he explained to Madison, "that, by the law of nature, one generation is to another as one independent nation is to another." He produced elaborate calculations to show that, on average, a generation lasted about nineteen years, which meant that all debts, laws, even constitutions, should expire after that time.

Madison complimented Jefferson on his "interesting reflections," then proceeded to demolish the entire notion of generational sovereignty by observing that generational cohorts do not come into the world as discrete aggregates. There is a seamless web of arrivals and departures, along with an analogous web of obligatory connections between past and present generations that are not only unavoidable but also essential for the continuation of civilized society. Jefferson clung to the idea, which was really a fantasy, for the rest of his life; it satisfied some deep craving in his imagination for a world of perfect freedom and independence. (And, given his perpetual and eventually tragic indebtedness, it had economic attraction as well.) But he never put it forward to Madison or anyone else as a serious legislative proposal.

A similar exchange occurred at almost the same time, when Madison sent Jefferson a lengthy analysis of the arguments over the recently drafted Constitution, explaining in great detail the beauty of overlapping jurisdiction between federal and state power and the important role government must play in protecting individual rights. Jefferson wrote back to register his worries about a strong executive. "I own I am not a friend to a very energetic government," he concluded, noting that "after all, it is my principle that the will of the Majority shall always prevail." Since Madison's whole point was that majority rule was the chief threat to individual liberty in the American republic, and that therefore the main task of the new Constitution was to restrain popular majorities rather than release them, the two friends were occupying opposite ends of a great political divide. When Madison sent Jefferson a copy of the *Federalist Papers* to amplify his explanation, Jefferson acknowledged that "it has rectified me in several points." But the truth was that Jefferson found it impossible to think about the powers of government in positive ways, or to believe that popular majorities should ever threaten individual rights. Madison's entire emphasis on balance was at odds with Jefferson's commitment to liberation.

The list of rather stunning disagreements could go on. Although they collaborated in writing the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in 1798, agreeing that the Sedition Act was an unwarranted and unconstitutional abuse of federal power, Madison was careful to blur the question of state versus federal authority. Jefferson, on the other hand, denied the federal government any jurisdiction over domestic affairs within the states and sanctioned the right of states to overturn or "nullify" federal laws in terms that Southern secessionists later found immensely helpful. Madison came to the rescue again, excusing Jefferson's states' rights argument as an unfortunate outburst of Jeffersonian excess, and suggesting that, when it came down to the question of the Framers' intent, his credentials were far superior.

The role of the Supreme Court generated the same kind of division. Jefferson despised John Marshall because his rulings enlarged the power of a handful of nonelected judges. "The judiciary of the United States," he wrote in 1820, "is the subtle corps of sappers and miners constantly working under ground to undermine the foundation of our confederated republic." Whenever a landmark constitutional decision was necessary, Jefferson thought it should be put to a democratic vote. Madison considered such a course impractical, unwise and, once again, at odds with the original intent of the Framers.

The Jefferson who comes through in this correspondence is more a political visionary or dreamer than a thinker. The animating impulse of his vision was an instinctive hostility to government, indeed to all forms of authority outside the self. The Jeffersonian cast of mind was moralistic and melodramatic, tending to divide the world into moral dichotomies: liberty versus tyranny; virtue versus corruption; the people versus government. The Declaration of Independence, with its exaltation of American rights and indictment of English wrongs, accurately represented the primal categories of his political system. His abiding appeal is less to our minds than to our imaginations and expectations.

Madison, on the other hand, was every inch a realistic political thinker with an affinity for paradox. Madisonian thought rejected simple polarities in favor of multiple sources of power. If Jefferson's favorite European philosophers were French, Madison's were Scottish. (Adams's were English.) The Madisonian goal was not personal liberation so much as social stability, which he tended to regard as a product of countervailing forces that government must attempt to orchestrate. Federalist No. 10, with its diagnosis of interacting and off-setting factions within an extended republic, captured the essence of his political wisdom. Madison is more of an acquired taste than Jefferson, but unquestionably the sharper and deeper political thinker.

From the very beginning, then, the American liberal tradition has been an inherently hybrid creature. At the level of mainstream politics, the Jeffersonian side of the legacy has dominated in the same way that Jefferson dominated the relationship with Madison. The seductive simplicities and the eerie optimism of Jefferson's dream are more accessible to a mass audience and also enjoy the incalculable advantage of telling us what we want to hear. Youthful radicals rediscovered the romantic utopianism in the 1960s. Ronald Reagan mastered its idiom and rhetoric with equivalent authenticity in the 1980s. It is the core expression of America's will to believe.

The Madisonian side of the liberal legacy is more prosaic and legalistic. It tells us what we need to know rather than what we want to hear; how republican institutions actually work rather than the ideals toward which they aspire. The Madisonian tradition is more compelling to scholars, jurists and thoughtful journalists than to the larger public. In a sense, it performs the same function that Madison performed for Jefferson; namely, to discipline democratic excesses, edit down great expectations and consolidate gains after a spasm of liberal reform. Or, as Robert Frost put it, the dream of Jefferson was the youthful dream of unabashed and uncomplicated personal freedom and independence; but the dream of Madison was more satisfying to the elders: "It was a dream of a new land to fulfill with people in self-control." Something there was in Jefferson that didn't love that wall, while Madison thought that good fences make good neighbors.

By bringing these letters together for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Message from Negative Population Growth, Inc.

Why We Must Reduce Immigration From Over One Million to 100,000 a Year

It Makes No Sense for Our Nation to Permit Massive Immigration

We now allow over one million immigrants to settle here every year. If our fertility rate remains at 2.0, continuing immigration at that level would swell our population to nearly 500 million before the end of the next century. **That would almost double our present size!**

Such growth would be intolerable. It would destroy our environment, our standard of living and the quality of our lives.

With a present population of 262 million, our country is already vastly overpopulated in terms of the long range carrying capacity of its resources and environment. Yet we continue to grow rapidly, by 25 to 30 million each decade.

We Need to Halt and Then Reverse Our Population Growth

We at NPG believe that our goal should be to stabilize our U.S. population at no more than 150 million, its size back in 1950. We consider that to be the optimum size for our country.

We Americans do not have to agree now on the exact size of a smaller population, however, since any substantial reduction in numbers would take many decades to achieve. It is only essential that we agree on the urgent need to halt and reverse our population growth.

Immigration Must Be Drastically Reduced

Because we have allowed our nation to become seriously overpopulated we are in deep trouble. A quick and easy solution simply does not exist. To start on the path toward a smaller, more sustainable population, we must halt illegal immigration and sharply reduce legal immigration.

Accordingly, NPG strongly recommends that legal immigration be cut back from its present 900,000 per year to no more than 100,000, including all relatives, refugees and asylees. We further call for an all-out effort to reduce illegal immigration, currently estimated at 300,000 a year, to as near zero as possible.

Best Case Scenario: Low Fertility, Low Immigration

What would happen to our population if our fertility rate were gradually reduced from the present 2.0 to 1.5 by 2050, if illegal immigration were virtually halted, and if legal immigration were reduced in 1996 from the present 900,000 a year to 100,000 a year, as we advocate?

The bad news is that our population would still continue growing for another 25 years, peaking at 300 million in 2020. **The good news** is that by the end of the next century it would have declined to around 180 million. In a few more years it would reach 150 million and could be stabilized at that level, even allowing a slight increase in fertility and/or immigration.

This is the path to a smaller population that NPG advocates.

Another Scenario: Low Fertility, High Immigration

If our fertility were reduced as in the "best case" scenario, but immigration remained at its present high level, the picture would be far worse.

1. Our population would continue growing for another 55 years, peaking in 2050 at 337 million, **75 million more than we are now.** Our impact on the environment would accordingly be that much greater.

2. Even by the end of the next century, our population would still be 298 million, 36 million greater than it is today, **and 121 million larger than it would be under the "best case" low immigration scenario.**

This is a path that our nation cannot afford to follow. **Clearly, the level of immigration will have a tremendous influence on the eventual size of our population.**

We Cannot Rely on Fertility Decline Alone to Reverse Our Population Growth

Fertility rates are difficult to change and when they do change, they almost always do so very slowly. Furthermore, future fertility rates are unpredictable: they might well increase rather than decrease. Over the last 18 years, for example, the trend has been upward, from a low of 1.7 in 1976 to 2.0 in the last few years.

That is all the more reason why we must reduce immigration to a level consistent with our long-term national interest. Reducing immigration is a much faster and more certain way to get results than relying on fertility decline.

If we can persuade our government to act **NOW** to halt illegal immigration — and to cut legal immigration from 900,000 to 100,000 a year — **we will at last be doing something** to brake runaway population growth in our country.

If you believe with us that immigration must be drastically curbed — and without further delay — then we ask you to work for this goal as a member of Negative Population Growth. We need your help.

NPG is a nonprofit, national membership organization established in 1972. Contributions to NPG are tax deductible to the extent the law allows.

Yes, I want to become a member of NPG, and help you work towards a smaller U.S. population. I am enclosing my check for annual membership dues.

____ $30 ____ $50 ____ $100 ____ Other

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ___ Zip _____

Mail to: **Negative Population Growth, Inc.**
210 The Plaza, P.O. Box 1206, Teaneck, NJ 07666

NR-95-45

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the first time, this comprehensive edition of the Jefferson-Madison correspondence invites such speculations. Not that James Morton Smith would agree with most of mine. To his everlasting credit, Smith's extensive introductions to each section of the correspondence provide a sufficient scholarly context for general readers to understand the issues at stake and reach their own conclusions. Some will surely prefer to interpret the exchange as a gift-package from the past, a reminder of the way it was back when giants walked the earth and American statesmen actually wrote literate and thoughtful letters. Others will want to read the dialogue as an instructive commentary on the strange birth of the liberal tradition in America, particularly intriguing and revealing for those of us in late-liberal America who are wondering whether the tradition has a future.

JOSEPH J. ELLIS is the author of *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams* (W.W. Norton).

Speaking Volumes

BY ANTHONY GRAFTON

God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne by R. Howard Bloch

(The University of Chicago Press, 152 pp., $24.95)

Two series of books—their bindings usually shabby and battered from decades of use, bound and rebacked in a dozen shades of cloth or leather, with end pages crumpled or loose—stand on the open reference shelves of major libraries throughout the Western world. Their thousands of closely printed pages of type, set in double columns for economy, seem designed to discourage readers not gifted with great learning (and great eyesight). So do their contents, which consist of long texts in Latin and Greek. Nonetheless, they usually number among the books most often and systematically consulted. In fact, they have been indispensable to readers of many different kinds for around a century and a half.

The almost 400 volumes of *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina* offer an incredible wealth of texts and traditions in a uniform format. They present the texts of the Greek and Latin Fathers of the Church, the authoritative writers of the first Christian centuries, such as John Chrysostom and Eusebius, Jerome and Augustine, in closely printed editions. But they include far more than the Fathers. The Greek series, for example, also offers a vast range of texts covering the whole long history of the Byzantine, or Eastern Roman, empire. Working through *Patrologia Graeca*, one can follow, with horror or relish as one's tastes dictate, the circus riots, mass blindings of enemies and mass destructions of religious art that make Byzantine history so uniquely lurid and fascinating—all the way down to the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century histories, still written in classical Greek, that recorded the inexorable rise of the Ottomans and the collapse of Byzantium.

The Latin series did not extend, as originally planned, to the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century. But it, too, offers a vast range of texts on the development of many areas of religion and culture in the Latin west, from the Carolingian age through the twelfth century and after. The adventures of Abelard and Bernard, the creation of formal scholastic theology, the repression of heresies too many to list and too strange to describe, the way in which early medieval clerics dated (and debated the dating of) the feasts of the Church—all these make the *Patrologia Latina* as varied and exciting as the Greek series.

Printed between 1844 and 1866 to combat Protestantism and Modernism, these heavy books have stayed afloat as a central tool of medieval scholarship. Their initials (P.G. and P.L.) have instant recognition value. Their readers have included generations of professors and graduate students in history and philosophy, art history and literature—as well as learned clerics such as Thomas Merton, who searched them for the historical roots of his spiritual life. Their contents, after being reprinted more than once, have received the ultimate '80s compliment of being made computer accessible as a coherent database. A new generation of medievalist hackers wanders their close-packed columns electronically, sorting out with new precision the differences between imperialists and papalists, Iconoclasts and Iconodules, Homoousians and Homoiousians.

More astonishing than their richness and variety of contents is the fact that all of these books—along with dozens of others—were produced by one man: the Abbé Jean-Paul Migne. Howard Bloch tells the story of this sacred monster of nineteenth-century learning in his elegant short book. Born in 1800 in the isolated mountain village of Saint-Flour, Migne attended seminary in Orléans and served as a village priest in the 1820s. Once settled in Paris, he took astonishingly little time to become a celebrity, the master of the largest printing plant and the editor of the most massive publishing enterprises of his time. He worked more hours each day than a modern scholar can stay awake, published more texts than a modern editor could hope to read, and helped to create international scholarly projects, the results of which are still in use. He could drop all pretense of scholarly decorum at short notice and in public, as he did on the frequent occasions when he spewed insults at anyone who stood in his way. Migne warred with Catholic bishops and government censors, declared himself ready to pursue his debtors "as far as California" and lit out after the Parisian street boys who shouted "*Couac*" (an anti-Catholic slur) at him, brandishing his umbrella and promising to teach them how to treat priests with proper respect. Though he has been largely forgotten by the general reading public, scholars continue both to exploit his work and to complain volubly about its shortcomings.

Bloch—himself a distinguished medievalist—has etched an unforgettable, Daumier-like portrait, sharp and satirical, of this enterprising, austere and somewhat crazed merchandiser of sacred learning. And Migne eminently deserves the attention Bloch accords him. A provincial priest who had upset his superiors when he put his own body on the line in the struggle against Republicanism and Atheism, he came to Paris as a young man in a hurry in the 1830s. Supported, evidently, by his family, who had a prosperous dry-goods shop in the provinces, Migne bought, sold and bribed like one of the fictional journalists in Balzac's *Les illusions perdues*, a text that Bloch cites appositely again and again as a sort of obbligato to his own tale. Migne became editor of one Catholic newspaper after another. Using stalk-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing horses to avoid the legal prohibition of multiple ownership, he eventually created a small newsprint empire, throughout which he employed more or less the same methods to generate copy.

Elaborate excerpting from other publications enabled him—so he claimed—to dispense with editing in the normal sense. Unaccredited repetition of curious stories about such entertainingly wild parts of the world as the United States, introduced with "*on dit*" and similar formulas, leavened the tedium of the necessarily prosy instructions on how to protect clerical real estate with which they were interspersed. Migne persistently tried, Bloch shows, to avoid speaking in the first person, casting even his most wildly implausible materials in an impersonal mode that enhanced their—and his—authority. For all the apparent objectivity of Migne's reportage, however, he stood unhesitatingly on one side: that of Catholicism and tradition, against the Republic and modernity. One of the papers he founded, *L'univers*, would become in other hands one of the most radical Catholic sheets of the mid-nineteenth century. Its editor regretted volubly that the Church had not burnt Hus even sooner and thrown Luther on the fire as well.

Migne did not confine himself to newspaper publishing; he also organized and published collection after collection of the books that he thought every clergyman should have. As the Church struggled to reform itself after the Revolution and the Napoleonic era, his edifying anthologies of sacred history and polemical theology found a national market. Migne's publishing house, the Ateliers catholiques at Montrouge, was the largest and most sophisticated in France. This vertically integrated company could carry out every task involved in the manufacture of books, from making the type to binding the printed sheets. It also turned out religious paintings, stained glass, every form of religious kitsch. Contemporary observers marveled at the vast productivity of Migne's steam-powered presses, the worldwide network of his correspondence, the almost Protestant-seeming austerity of the workplace.

Migne liked to compare his enterprise to the monastic scriptoria of the Middle Ages, with their silent, devoted labor to preserve the Catholic Tradition. But he also insisted on the advantage that technology gave him, savoring the fact that his presses could produce, in one minute, more pages than a medieval scribe could have written in three years. And to keep his costs down he engaged in practices more typical of the sweatshop than the scriptorium, such as hiring suspect characters, including unfrocked priests, who would work for low wages. The Ateliers catholiques loosed on unbelievers what pious observers hoped would be an irresistible, cleansing stream of editions of sound Catholic texts and commentaries. "Finally," wrote the abbé Bremond, himself a great historian of French religious life,

> like an imposing Titan, Migne appears, at the threshold of a gigantic forge; and all the pages of the Catholic encyclopedia are blown before him like autumn leaves swept away by the Mistral wind. Two hundred and thirty-one volumes of the Latin writings of the Fathers, one hundred and sixty-one of the Greek, and what volumes! Gold and lead, plaster and granite. If ever new barbarians invade, they will stop with terror before those colossal bricks; and they will recognize in this fantastic fortress the mark of the infernal gods.

God and Mammon were never so perfectly reconciled as in the long decades during which Migne, unimpeded by riots and revolutions, political censorship and personal enmity, turned out some 2 million printed pages.

Though Bloch shows admiration for his hero's vitality, he also subjects him to scathing criticism. Energetic research in the Archives Nationales and the Bibliothèque Nationale has enabled Bloch to overturn every stone in Migne's carefully wrought structures, and he has found strange creatures crawling in the muck under many of them. Police reports reveal that Migne underpaid and overdisciplined his large work force. Plaintive correspondence shows that Migne did much the same for his scholarly collaborators. He ignored all their efforts to tone down the boasts with which he filled his title pages, suppressed their identities with the deft footwork of an aging matinee idol upstaging a handsome juvenile, and showed no more mercy for Benedictine monks than for impoverished German liberals in political exile as he flagellated his collaborators to produce copy. He used every argument from greed to guilt. It would take a heart of stone, for example, not to laugh at his efforts to force the German émigré Friedrich Dübner to finish his critical edition of Augustine's enormous *City of God*: "I have the misfortune to inform you that sixty typesetters will be out of work if you do not come to their aid ... on Thursday, or Friday at the latest"—a few days' notice for delivery of a book that fills hundreds of pages in a modern edition.

Most revealing of all are the advertising campaigns that Migne orchestrated.

Brain Food.

Reel in some impressive facts

Active, influential people don't have time to dig through truckloads of weekly newsmagazines and political journals. Yet they know that keeping well-informed is critical to keeping up. What they need is an intelligent, one-stop source that brings them news and interesting analysis of today's most important political, economic and social trends.

Welcome to *The American Enterprise*, the most invigorating journal of thought and opinion in America today.

We feature lively writing on serious topics from writers like William Bennett, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Charles Murray, Christina Hoff Sommers, Christopher Hitchens, Eugene McCarthy, Thomas Sowell, Mickey Kaus, Eugene Genovese, Barbara Dafoe Whitehead, George Gilder, Irving Kristol, Michael Medved, Dinesh D'Souza, and Paul Johnson. Concise, enjoyable-to-read information on the direction of American society.

Call 1-800-562-1973 for FREE sample issue.

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE OF POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As cynical about critics as one of Balzac's theater managers, Migne bribed journalists to praise his products by offering them free samples to sell. Bloch plausibly suggests that he also invented the high-sounding testimonials for his products that he attributed to bishops and other authorities—and that resemble, adjective by adjective, his own descriptions of his products. Each product of the Ateliers was merchandised feverishly. A flurry of special offers, rebates for subscribers and further reductions for cash payment whirled about every potential customer. Priests who could not afford to pay cash for Migne's products could compensate him in kind: they performed Masses, by the dozen, which Migne then sold to consumers with less virtue and more money. Nobody beat the Abbé.

No wonder Migne, who saw himself as the most faithful intellectual footsoldier of the Catholic Restoration, spent so much time locked in mortal combat with his superiors in the Church. His kind of entrepreneurship necessarily caused conflicts with suppliers and work force, customers and scholars, as well as both the political and the religious authorities. It seems somehow appropriate that Migne's career ended not with a whimper, but with a flame-out. In 1868 a cataclysmic fire destroyed his whole empire, transforming his forms full of type into a river of lead and preventing him from carrying out his publishing plans in full. The super-human Balzacian hero spent his last years—like David Séchard, the brilliant young printer of *Les illusions perdues*—undergoing all the torments that lawyers, insurance experts and the French system of justice could inflict, as he tried to collect massive insurance payments.

Not all of Migne's tragic and comic flaws, however, could prevent him from carrying out one job of enormous historic value. Horrified by the near-destruction of the Church during the Revolution, inexorably opposed to liberalism and modernity, Migne tried not only to package all the learning that a country cleric needed, but to do something far more ambitious: to give Tradition itself a modern form. Hence he set to work on the two great series, *Patrologia Graeca* and *Patrologia Latina*, which to this day offer the fullest single conspectus of the cultural and religious history of late antique and medieval Christendom.

Migne, in short, was one of the most curious and compelling of the nineteenth century's dozens of entrepreneurs of scholarship. These frighteningly learned and productive figures, some of them tonsured, others bearded, some of them Ultramontane Catholics and others atheistic radicals, spent their energies editing primary sources and compiling basic reference books on every aspect of history and literature. The shelves of every great library still creak under the results of the enterprises they organized and carried out: the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the Rolls Series, the publications of the Early English Text Society and such later, even more grandiose undertakings as the *Oxford English Dictionary* and the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. These dinosaurs of historical philology gathered and made accessible the European literatures, traced the development of the European languages and revolutionized the study and teaching of history.

Bloch deserves great credit for the wit and style of his effort to explore the Pedantic Park of nineteenth-century learning, that island of monsters from which scholars have found, as yet, no escape. But the coin has another, less attractive, side as well. His book is neither a detailed biography, in the manner of K. M. Elisabeth Murray's *Caught in the Web of Words*, nor an analytical history of scholarship, in the style of Hans Aarsleff's *The Study of Language in England, 1780-1860*. Bloch makes almost no effort to explore Migne's personal religiosity—though it was surely his particular version of Catholicism that drove him, and made him drive others, so relentlessly. Only Migne's personal religious life can explain the extreme generosity that he manifested more than once—and that plays far less of a role in Bloch's account than it did in the older one by A. G. Hamman, which he uses heavily.

He also fails to situate Migne's enterprise in the larger history of scholarship and scholarly editing, or even to assess the quality of what Migne offered consumers. Bloch naturally points out that Migne could not have edited—could not, in fact, have read—the millions of words that the Ateliers set, proofread and published, and he shows that Migne's learned assistants—such as Dom Pitra, later to become a famous man and a cardinal—rarely had time to do more than choose a particular older text to reproduce. He also acknowledges that Migne drew his *Patrologies*, in particular, from very diverse sources. On the one hand, he used the tradition of Catholic learning, copying texts and commentaries alike from older collections of the writings of the Fathers or critical editions done by the supremely learned French Benedictines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the other hand, he also printed very recent work by German scholars whose identities he concealed to hide his violations of copyright even as he copied their texts, misprint by misprint. The results were a sort of scholarly bouillabaisse dressed up as coquilles St. Jacques: a stew of diverse and sometimes strange-looking creatures, typographically disguised as uniform modern production units.

Anyone who has used P.L. or P.G. knows that many volumes are as wildly diverse in content as they are similar in appearance. But Bloch provides extensive lists of titles in Latin rather than the vivid, detailed description of a few chosen volumes that would make the nature of Migne's products less clear to a non-medievalist. More seriously, he shows no interest at all in reconstructing the editorial toilette to which Migne's collaborators subjected the books chosen for reprinting. For all his justified distrust of Migne's advertising, in this case Bloch simply repeats what the sales brochures said: that an international team of savants meticulously proofread every volume of the

In Awe of Marriage

Arcs, arcs, and arching gateway: long bridge from brine to air.
We start as two beached lungfish; we'll end as . . . what and where?
All marriage lasts a billion years; there's no divorce
For spores. Genes splice
A DNA arch to tomorrow, straddling a graveyard's loam.
Who passes through is never (however lone) alone,
Having brushed (however blindly) the sun that has stoked earth's core
Ever since primal soup tossed pair
By pair through arcs of arching thighs
Onto a pair-shared shore.

PETER VIERECK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Patrologies, word for word, paying special attention to such refinements as Greek accents. For once, the cynical professor reveals his *sancta simplicitas*. To many of the texts they processed, Migne's Ateliers added nothing but dozens of new misprints. That is why young scholars are cautioned never to cite P.L. or P.G. if a more modern, critical edition exists: the texts were not only, in many cases, antiquated, but also inaccurately reproduced. A traditional exercise in Greek textual criticism courses consists, simply, in giving the students a column of one of the Greek Fathers as set by Migne and asking them to turn it, unaided, into correct Greek. Bloch's reader never learns this elementary fact.

In fact, Bloch takes so little interest in the details of Migne's work that on the one occasion when he cites a detail about how a text was prepared, he mangles it. A German scholar, Oehler, wrote to Migne to explain the limits of what he could do as editor of a particular work. Block cites his letter: "I cannot send you the original Greek and Latin text in good shape.... The rest is your business." This is gibberish. What could an editor possibly mean by promising *not* to provide a clean text? What could "the rest" possibly consist of? In fact, the original French shows exactly what Oehler promised: "*Je ne puis m'engager qu'à vous remettre le texte original grec et latin, en bon état, avec les corrections et les suppléments nécessaires. Tout le reste vous regarde*"—"I cannot promise to do more than send you the original Latin and Greek texts, in good condition, with the necessary corrections and additions. The rest is your affair." Only a scholar supremely uninterested in Migne's central business—the preparation of texts for publication—could have perpetrated this mistranslation.

Migne was far from the only publisher to freeze a set of canonical texts in an uncritical but influential form. The Renaissance printer Daniel Bomberg did the same with the Rabbinic Bible; so did the seventeenth-century Elzeviers who printed what they called the "received text" of the Greek New Testament and the nineteenth-century Lodz printer who produced what later became the standard edition of the Babylonian Talmud. But these publishers hardly realized that an alternative method existed. Before the late eighteenth century, as Sebastiano Timpanaro and others have shown, only a few scholars even suspected that one should edit any work historically, constructing a history of the changes it has undergone and arranging the surviving manuscripts and editions in genealogical order before deciding which of them represent the independent, reliable witnesses on which a critical text can rest.

In Migne's time and place, however, editing as he did represented a choice. For in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, German biblical scholars and classical philologists had dramatized the fact that all texts have histories. They showed that the normal editorial practice of randomly choosing a manuscript or an edition and reproducing it implied the misrepresentation, sometimes the wild misrepresentation, of the original author's words, and suggested that no edition of any kind could reach all the way back to the lost original. No editor could restore the exact words of an ancient author as they had first been uttered or written millennia before, before they were repeatedly transcribed, for different purposes and in different contexts. These ideas had a revolutionary impact: they suggested that the Bible itself, to say nothing of secular classics such as Homer and Plato, could not be known perfectly, word for word. Historical editing, German style, subverted tradition. Such ideas were percolating into France in the very years when Migne set out to wrest tradition from the jaws of history.

No one knew the new philology better than the French publisher who served, during the lawsuit over Migne's climactic fire, as an expert on the value of what he had lost: Ambroise Firmin-Didot. And Didot, as the French patristic scholar Pierre Petitmengin has made clear, did for the Traditions of the New in mid-nineteenth-century France what Migne tried to do for the Traditions of the Church. The heir to a printing dynasty long known for the high aesthetic qualities of its books, Didot saw in the middle decades of the nineteenth century that French classical and historical scholarship had fallen far behind German.

He therefore published, between 1830 and 1865, a series of editions of Greek texts, some of which applied the new, sophisticated standards of German scholarship on a more lavish scale than they were even applied at home. Didot hired foreign editors, at first—above all, German émigrés in Paris, men well trained in the new methods of German philology and desperate for paying work of any kind, the Walter Benjamins of their more hopeful time. He encouraged them to look for older or more accurate manuscripts where necessary. More radically still, he and they laid special emphasis on the fact that much Greek literature survived only in fragments. Didot himself compared surviving Greek texts, eloquently, to the towers and chimneys, projecting above the surface of a lake, which revealed the presence of a drowned city beneath it. To recover as much as possible of what had been lost, he commissioned such enterprises in textual archaeology as the first serious collection of the fragments of the Greek historians—a work that has not yet been replaced, though one of the great German Jewish scholars of the twentieth century, Felix Jacoby, dedicated his hard-pressed, hard-working career to trying to do so.

Didot thus implicitly made plain the emptiness of Migne's claim to provide an entire textual tradition, whole and sound, in one set of books. No ancient genre survived in its entirety. A truly critical corpus of ancient historians or tragedians, philosophers or comic poets must devote itself as much to defining the gaps in the record as to presenting the texts that fell between them; it must reveal the limits of modern knowledge, not claim completeness. As so often in the modern world, profound knowledge of the past turned out to rest on precise study of the forgotten and the fragmentary.

Didot devoted the full resources of his innovative printing house to this series. He printed the texts elegantly—so elegantly that his German editors complained that he cared more about physical presentation than philological rigor. He gave them neat, classical title pages, as sparing in words as Migne's were verbose. Each volume of the *Patrologia* bore, in Latin, its price and an intolerably verbose title, hundreds of words long, boasting of the textual excellence, high aesthetic standards and low cost of the whole series. Didot's volumes had only a plain author's name and title—and a neat little image of the Institut de France. He thus made, perhaps for the first time, the connection between the nation, philology and modernity, which would prove so influential after the Franco-Prussian War, when Fustel de Coulanges and others set out to create a French style in scholarship that matched German rigor in analysis but avoided the extremes of German speculation and pedantry. Didot's innovations did not restrict themselves to economies of production. He also produced the first photographic facsimile of a manuscript of an ancient text—a form of publication that, in more recent times, has revolutionized the study of the entire written tradition of the West.

Only a study that compared Migne with Didot—and that paid due attention to hard-pressed Germans such as Dübner, who worked for both men—would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

explain why Migne's version of tradition was so much more traditional, so much less critical, than Didot's. Bloch, who has himself written extensively on the later history of philology in France, could have attacked this complex but absorbing story—a story about how Catholic France did, or didn't, react to the threat and promise of German philology, long before the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 made such issues prominent. He could thus have done full justice to the weird richness of what Migne produced—a huge series of books that in principle ignored all editorial problems, but in practice included both older and recent work by scholars acutely aware of them. Instead Bloch has produced something both funnier and less profound: a wittily gossipy chronicle of Migne's sales pitches in place of a sharp analysis of how, and why, the most modernist of Catholic intellectuals refused to adopt the methods of modern scholarship and editing.

One cannot help suspecting that Bloch chose to write the book he did for a rather simple reason: he wanted to produce a new member of the historical subspecies now widely known as "Microhistories"—minutely detailed, almost microscopic analyses of a single colorful incident or career. The first of these works to attract widespread attention was Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms*, a brilliant re-creation, based on Inquisition records imaginatively read, of the cosmos of a heretical miller, which appeared a generation ago. More recent samples include Judith Brown's *Immodest Acts*, Pietro Redondi's *Galileo Heretic*, Jonathan Spence's *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* and Mario Biagioli's *Galileo Courtier*. Mini-microhistories, sketched and cross-hatched rather than detailed and colored, occur in the works of Stephen Greenblatt and other students of early modern literature. They often feature in the Berkeley journal *Representations*, which Bloch long helped to edit.

Microhistories have no single set of distinguishing marks, but experienced watchers of historical birds know in general what to look for: a lurid, marginal protagonist; a brilliant, sometimes slightly overheated style; an effort, not always disciplined, to blur the divisions between factual narrative and fiction. Many microhistories have had entirely justified successes, either for teaching purposes or among general readers. Both Redondi and Spence had the good fortune to see their books fit a particular niche in the structures of American publishing and reviewing: the one study each season of a highly esoteric subject that is chosen, for slightly occult reasons, as worthy of detailed newspaper reviews and prominent bookstore display. Bloch's book seems to be this year's strongest candidate for the post. It reveals the interest, for a wide public, of a figure and a world previously known only to specialists. It connects Balzac's fiction with historical fact in a way that sheds new light on both. And it shows that the nineteenth-century police archive, as well as the national library, may record in unsuspected, unsparingly grim detail the economic details of an intellectual's career.

The problem with microhistory is simple: as its name suggests, the genre works like a microscope. It concentrates the attention on one slide, luridly stained and brightly lit, which comes into sharp, revealing focus—but it excludes the rest of the subject's world. And in the humanities, unlike the natural sciences, exclusions always come at a price: the omission of the wider historical context, the larger stage on which the microhistorian's dramas actually took place. Microhistories that deal with intellectuals often attain vividness by concentrating on personalities, emotions, color, the things that make a story. Accordingly, they must usually omit detailed treatment of the intellectual traditions, abstract, long-term and obdurately resistant to witty summary and comment, that gave meaning to their protagonists' lives. Not all microhistories, certainly, can be criticized on grounds like these. Ginzburg, for example, has consistently set his jewel-like analyses of Inquisition trials into larger intellectual contexts and long-term histories (and has sharply criticized efforts to minimize differences between history and other forms of literature). Bloch, however, apparently allowed himself to be diverted from his real subject by the rules of the game he chose to play.

Microhistory can reduce, as well as reveal. At its worst, it marks less a new way to give life to the past than a kind of lite biography—one all too appropriate to an age in which once-serious newsmagazines swell their columns with gossip, children of celebrities rush to tell the television audience about how their parents abused them and academics know more about their colleagues' salaries and perks than they do about their ideas. Bloch's book is by no means a bad specimen of its genre. But it also makes plain, as much in its achievements as in its lacunae, the intellectual problems that arise when packaging directs research and description of the outré replaces analysis of what made it abnormal. Migne must be smiling at the irony—unless he's too busy persecuting the printers' devils in Hell to have time for such trivial concerns.

ANTHONY GRAFTON teaches European history at Princeton University. The second volume of his biography of Joseph Scaliger was recently published by Oxford University Press.

Spanish Illusions

BY RONALD RADOSH

The Odyssey of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade: Americans in the Spanish Civil War by Peter N. Carroll

(Stanford University Press, 472 pp., $55, $16.95 paper)

The story of the brave volunteers of the International Brigades, particularly the American volunteers who composed the Abraham Lincoln Battalion, has been told many times. When one thinks of the Lincoln Battalion, one immediately conjures up the picture of brave and selfless American idealists, sacrificing their lives in the struggle to preserve democracy against the onslaught of fascism, becoming what a generation has dubbed them—following the veteran's own description of themselves—"premature anti-Fascists," a group of men and women ahead of their contemporaries in putting their lives on the line in the fight for democracy.

To make a proper historical judgment of the Brigades, however, we must start from the premise that, the heroism of many individuals notwithstanding, it is something of a myth that members of the International Brigade were volunteers who spontaneously rose to join the fight against fascism when the rest of the world preferred to look away. As Edward Lending, one of the Lincoln veterans, stated in a fiftieth anniversary speech at Florida Atlantic University, Moscow held "iron-fisted control of the International Brigades," and it is an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

incontrovertible fact that Stalin and the Politburo "inspired, organized, directed and completely dominated the Brigades throughout the war," creating them for their "own arcane strategic objectives."

Stalin was not a benign figure, responding to Fascist aggression on principle. His own Spanish strategy was dictated by his desire to give limited aid to the Republican government, and to bolster its forces until such time as Britain and France might be persuaded to abandon their noninterventionist policies, as well as to guarantee that the existing Republic and its army would fall firmly under Soviet control. The ill-equipped Brigade troops—Stalin never gave the Spanish people enough arms to win—were sitting ducks. As one American commissar put it, in an unusually frank admission, they were led as "sheeps to the slaughter."

The late John Gates, then a revered 23-year-old commissar of the XV Brigade, and later one of the first old Communists to leave the party after Khrushchev's speech and the invasion of Hungary in 1956, summed up the Lincoln volunteers in this way: his men, he recalled, "fought with the best of intentions, they held noble ideals, but they fought in a system controlled and run by the Russian Communist leadership, then under the control of Stalin." The result of their effort, Gates concluded, was to "insist on adherence to the policy advocated by the Spanish Communists, which at first helped but later hurt the ability to wage an effective war, hindering what support we could get in Spain."

It is precisely this kind of critical judgment—as well as the larger historical setting, in which the Soviet Union still existed and was ruthlessly busy for its own gain—that is sorely lacking in Peter Carroll's book. Carroll understands that the "history of the Spanish Civil War is consumed by mystery and legend, so much so that it is extremely difficult to separate fact from fiction." He also knows the charges made against the Lincolns by their foes: they have been accused of blindly following the Communist Party line, so that after fighting fascism in Spain, once the Hitler-Stalin Pact took place, they adopted as their slogan "The Yanks are not coming!" thereby opening themselves to charges of political opportunism. Carroll has heard the stories of how the volunteers participated in a "reign of terror" carried out against the party's political opponents, and he promises a book different from previous studies, which were, in his view, "fraught with political bias and innumerable errors," such as one recent volume that he says "readily takes the Lincolns at their word." Carroll, then, holds out a high standard by which to be judged. Unfortunately, nothing in his book meets that standard. He quickly slips into the very kind of historiography from which he has just promised to depart: the glorification of the Lincoln volunteers and an endorsement of their political vision, from the 1930s through the present.

Fortunately, the picture painted by Carroll can be checked by referring to the material cited in *Heroic Victims: Stalin's Foreign Legion in the Spanish Civil War,* a pamphlet written by Herbert Romerstein and published by The Council for the Defense of Freedom. Romerstein is a columnist for the conservative journal *Human Events.* For his critics, Romerstein's work is disqualified by his past in the 1950s as an activist and a journalist in the anti-Communist movement of the far right. It is certainly true that Romerstein has sometimes allowed polemical zeal to get the better of him, as in his intemperate attack a few years back on I. F. Stone, whom he dubbed a Soviet agent on the basis of rather dubious sources. Still, in his short booklet on the Lincoln Brigade, he sticks to the facts and to sources from previously unreleased Moscow archives. Indeed, most of these are drawn from the research findings of Harvey Klehr and John Haynes, and many of the sources cited in this review will be found in their entirety in their forthcoming book, *The Secret World of American Communism* (Yale University Press).

Let us begin with a central question about the volunteers: the character of their anti-fascism. Carroll claims that "some of the Lincolns secretly violated the Communist policy of opposing U.S. intervention and provided crucial assistance to British intelligence and to the American Office of Strategic Services." Milton Wolff, the Brigade's last commander, who claimed not to be a Communist Party member (a falsehood, as Romerstein points out: in a handwritten form that he found in the Comintern archives in Moscow, Wolff listed himself as both a member of the Spanish Communist Party and the American Young Communist League), was an ardent public spokesman on behalf of the cause of peace during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Wolff gave the keynote speech to the Lincolns' convention in May 1941—two years after the pact was signed, and shortly before the German invasion of Russia. In the speech, Wolff accused FDR of taking the United States down the "jingoistic road to fascism in America" and of trying to bring the American people "to open participation in the imperialist slaughter," and Wolff pledged that the Brigade veterans would "fight against the involvement of our country in an imperialist war."

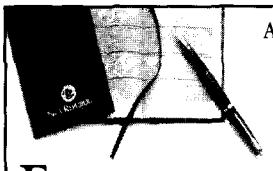
All of this was to be expected from the words of an American Communist. But Carroll makes a discovery. He writes that Wolff had received a request from OSS Chief William Donovan for a private meeting. Donovan told Wolff that British intelligence officers needed aid in establishing contacts with resident aliens from Southern and Eastern Europe who would help partisan resistance fighters in German occupied countries. The OSS head wanted the help in this endeavor of the former Lincoln fighters. Wolff then met, in Carroll's account, with the Communist leader Eugene Dennis, who gave his consent. (Carroll does not seem to know that in the spring of 1941, Dennis was on assignment for the Comintern in Moscow, and Wolff was in the United States.)

Carroll writes: "In other words, the

HOME STUDY COURSE

in economics. A 10-lesson study that will throw light on today's baffling problems. Tuition free—small charge for materials.

Write Henry George Institute, 121 E. 30th Street, New York, NY 10016



ANNOUNCING THE NEW *REPUBLIC* 1995 POCKET DIARY

For the past few years, we have been giving pocket diaries, embossed in gold with The New Republic name and logo, to our writers and editors and special friends in the media. The diaries have been so popular that we have decided to make them available to our subscribers at a low cost, only $11.95 each.

The diaries are made by Letts of London. Each Diary includes weekly calendars with space to write down daily appointments, plus a wine vintage chart, a list of important toll-free telephone numbers, and addresses, and more.

The pages are edged in gilt and carry a silken page marker. The diary itself is dark blue with featherweight light-blue pages.

It's elegant and easy to use. The cost to non-subscribers is $13.95, but we're offering it to subscribers for just $11.95, *including* postage.

YES, Send me The New Republic pocket diary immediately.

❑ I am a subscriber, $11.95
❑ I am not a subscriber, $13.95

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State____ Zip_____

Write to: The New Republic, Pocket Diary, 1220 19th St. NW, Washington, DC 20036

Check or Money-Order must accompany each order

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

highest level of the American Communist Party authorized clandestine operations that violated the noninterventionist line." Were this true, it would give support to those historians who claim that American Communists were chafing at the bit during the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and on their own, before the Dimitrov declaration of the United Front Against Fascism; that they were working actively to move the American Communists toward a genuine anti-fascism and an independent American radicalism, separate from the line dictated by the Soviet Union. Carroll argues that the cooperation with Donovan "represented an audacious departure from [the party's] previous distrust" of the Roosevelt administration. Wolff, he points out, met with British agents in New York to arrange the placement of "reliable anti-Fascists ... behind enemy lines," anti-Fascists who were "politically acceptable," either party members or fellow-travelers. So, writes Carroll, "at a time when the Communist Party officially opposed American involvement in the war, Wolff started a recruitment program on behalf of British intelligence." Wolff was given a New York office and a salary by the OSS, to be used to recruit ethnic veterans for the secret mission, which was still in existence after the United States entered the war.

What are we to make of this little-known episode, in which the head of the OSS asked the American Communists to aid the British war effort during the period of the Nazi-Soviet Pact? If this were true, it would require a reconsideration of the history of American communism. But, when one looks at the same sources, reproduced in the forthcoming Klehr-Haynes book in a less confusing fashion, Carroll's argument collapses.

Quoting from a memo written on May 13, 1942, by Pavel Fitin, head of the Foreign Department of the Soviet NKVD, Romerstein notes that it was in November 1941—five months *after* the German invasion of Russia—that "Wolff met a representative of American intelligence, Colonel Donovan," who suggested to him "that reliable veterans be selected to be placed at the disposal of English intelligence to be sent behind enemy lines for diversionary work. Wolff informed the head of the Communist Party of the intelligence service proposal and received permission to do this." Later Donovan sought to increase the party's role, and Dennis told him of a plan to have American Communists volunteer individually as commandos for the OSS. Dimitrov, on behalf of the Comintern, quickly vetoed the plan, arguing that it was a "political mistake" to use American Communists for Allied intelligence work, since it would provide a cover for the Western intelligence networks to penetrate various Communist parties. Thus a cable from Fitin to Dimitrov noted in June 1942 that Dennis had acted to curb "Wolff's activities." As Romerstein notes sarcastically: "So much for the Communists' willingness to do anything that the American government wanted to advance the war effort."

Is Romerstein correct? Carroll writes that when the party accepted Donovan's overture, Wolff met two British agents, named Bryce and Bailey. This meeting, he suggests, took place in the spring of 1941, *before* the German attack on the Soviet Union. But Bailey did not even arrive in the United States until early 1942, and training camps supervised by Bryce did not exist until September 1941, *after* the German invasion of Russia. (The full story of the work carried out by Bailey and his colleagues in British intelligence, and the accurate dates of their work, can be found in David Stafford's *Camp X*, a book of which Carroll is obviously not aware.)

The second central question about the Brigades concerns the political fight against deviationism. Desiring to control the politics of the Republic, Stalin sent the NKVD into Spain, where it carried out assassinations, such as that of POUM leader Andres Nin, and in general sought to ferret out Trotskyists and anarchists from the ranks. André Marty, the French commander of the International Brigades who was dealt with harshly by Hemingway in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, by his own account had executed more than 500 soldiers for "desertion" or the heresy of "Trotskyism"; and it is a figure believed by many to be modest. As for other International Brigade commanders, many of them became Stalin's henchmen in Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe after the war, where they worked to implement the "people's democracies." Erno Gero, who was instrumental in exterminating POUMists in Barcelona, became Rakos's chief aide in the worst days of Hungarian Stalinism; and Dolores Ibarruri, the "La Pasionara" so admired by the Lincoln veterans, admonished the soldiers that "the Trotskyists must be exterminated like beasts of prey."

Were the Lincoln volunteers immune from this frenzy of anarchist and Trotskyist witch-hunting? At least one veteran, the late George Watt, who died in July, acknowledged publicly in 1986 that there were "negative and seamy ... power struggles among conflicting ideologies, parties and factions on the Republican side," and that the Lincolns had taken part in the "political war" against the Trotskyists. Carroll writes that Watt felt his "remarks demanded an honest consideration of such unpleasant truths." But, instead of giving us such a consideration, Carroll goes on to quote from the diatribes that Watt's frankness produced among the recalcitrant veterans, some of whom attacked him for repeating the lies of HUAC, and who swore that the Lincolns never took part in any of the so-called atrocities in Spain.

But there is evidence to the contrary. Romerstein notes that the files of John Gates, a top commander and later leading Communist official, indicate that he regularly toured the training camps to inform troops of the need for "vigilance in the ranks," strict discipline and avoidance of "entering into relations with the Gestapo." The idea that Lincoln volunteers, wary of the reality they found in Spain, would link up with the Nazis was typical of the Stalinist vision of men such as Marty and Gates at that moment. More than likely, some of the men would find that the real fighting spirit of revolution emanated not from the Communists, but from those who they had been told were kin of the Fascists, especially the Spanish Anarchists and independent Marxists in the POUM, the group with which Orwell fought, and whose politics were always incorrectly condemned by the Communists as Trotskyist.

Such was the case with William Herrick, one of the earliest Lincoln volunteers and author of *Hermanos!* (1969), widely regarded as the best novel to emerge from the ranks of the battalion. He found that the brunt of the fighting for Madrid was carried out by the very Anarchists he was warned about. Herrick also revealed, in an interview in 1986, that Spain was honeycombed with GPU agents. On one night, he was taken by a GPU agent along with a few other international volunteers to witness the execution of a group of Spanish Anarchists, who died shouting, "*¡Viva la revolución!*" "These guys," Herrick remarked, "had been killed by my comrades," and the man who pulled the trigger "made some crack about Trotskyite Fascists." The GPU agent brought Herrick along to test his mettle, and to compromise him. From that moment on, Herrick said, he felt no different than if he had himself pulled the trigger. (Carroll discusses Herrick, but he does not cite any of this.)

Another measure of the purges in the Brigade is the number of those who disappeared, or could not be counted among the survivors, the injured or the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dead of battle. Were there volunteers who became disillusioned and were not allowed to return home, and were punished by imprisonment or death? Carroll says that in the entire history of the Lincolns there was only a single political execution, of Paul White, who had deserted, changed his mind and returned to the front to fight. Otherwise, there are only allegations about the Lincolns from "deserters of dubious reliability or from anti-Communists," whose word, it is obvious to Carroll, cannot be trusted.

Carroll tells the story of a disgruntled Brigade member named Albert Wallach. An obvious liar, according to Carroll, he was a malingerer who sought to avoid battle, who spread untoward rumors and sought a safe job behind the front. He notes that Hans Amlie (the brother of Representative Thomas Amlie of Wisconsin), a Socialist Party member who supported the Communists, referred to him as "my smart Jew deserter." A man who deserted one too many times, Wallach was eventually imprisoned, and he was never seen again. After gathering eyewitness reports, Wallach's father accused a volunteer named Anthony DeMaio, later a CIO local official, of murdering him for the Soviet-created SIM, or military intelligence. But Carroll argues only that those who made the charges were themselves notorious anti-Communists, and so their word is not credible.

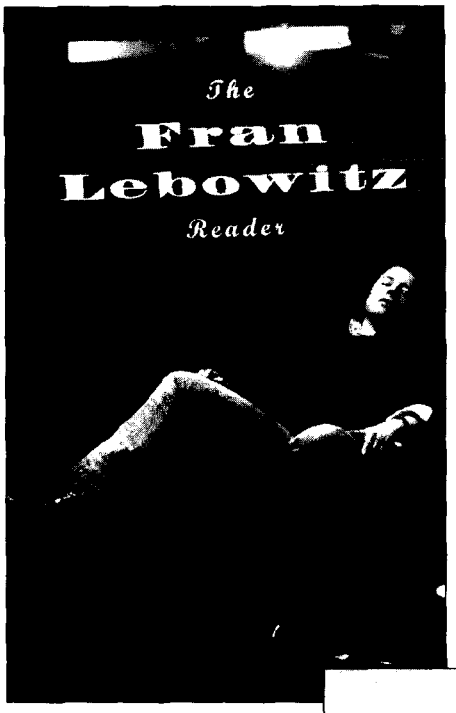
Of Bernard Abramofsky, a friend of Wallach's in the Brigade, Carroll writes that this man was "terrified by the firing at Bruenete," and feigned collapse and injury in order to be taken on a stretcher behind the lines. Abramofsky then fled, was returned to the lines, deserted again and was finally arrested. Viewing him as a threat to company morale, he reports that Lincoln soldiers had one of their rank kill him. The killer was never named or brought to trial, and the soldiers saw Abramofsky's execution as necessary to preserve battalion unity. This is seen by Carroll as part of a group of three "exceptional cases" that prove that few, if any, were killed outside of battle by members of the Lincoln Battalion.

It is here that one may turn to the research of Romerstein, who, unlike Carroll, has put the Comintern files to good use. Noting that Abramofsky's name was on a formal list of so-called bad elements, Romerstein found a file card in the Comintern archives accusing Abramofsky of collaborating with Gestapo agents. As Romerstein writes, "the possibility that a young Jewish man who volunteered to fight against fascism in Spain would

Fran Lebowitz

is "the funniest woman in America."

—Edmund White, *Washington Post*



Her two bestsellers, *Metropolitan Life* and *Social Studies*, now in one great volume

The Fran Lebowitz Reader brings together the best writing to date by an "important humorist in the classic tradition" (*The New York Times Book Review*) who is "the natural successor to Dorothy Parker" (*British Vogue*). With a new preface by the author.

Now in paperback

Vintage Books

Her "glorious children's book about pandas."—*Elle*

"Fran Lebowitz is always wonderful, and here she's written a book to savor... The illustrations are another treat. They are by the renowned architect Michael Graves." —*Miami Herald*

An "engaging story...narrated in a clever, digressive voice that perfectly mimics a precocious child's."

—James Atlas, *Vogue*

Knopf

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You deserve a factual look at...

Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank")
Can Israel survive without it?

With the "peace agreement" between Israel and the PLO, the Middle East and Israel have entered a new phase. It will inevitably lead to the creation of a Palestinian state. Can Israel survive this dismemberment? Is it in the best interest of the United States?

What are the facts?

The Root of the Conflict. The conflict between Israel and the Arabs is not about borders and not about the Palestinians. It is about Israel's very existence. The PLO still adheres to its infamous "phased plan"; it calls for first creating a Palestinian state on any territory vacated by Israel and then using that state to foment a final allied Arab assault against the truncated Jewish state.

The Importance of Territory. Many believe that in this age of missiles, territory is of little importance. But this is not the case. The Arab states have acquired over $50 billion of the most advanced armaments since the end of the Gulf War. And those are not just "conventional" weapons—enormous quantities of tanks, aircraft and much more. The Arab states possess large arsenals of chemical and biological weapons, and all of them work feverishly on the development of their nuclear potential. All of those weapons have only one single target and one single purpose: the destruction of the state of Israel. And that goal is not being cancelled for any agreements between Israel and the Palestinians.

For both "conventional" war and for war of mass destruction, territory and topography are critical for self-defense and deterrence. The mountainous territory of Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") is an indispensable line of defense. It totally controls access to Israel's heartland from the east. Israel needs this high ground for defense and to be able to peer deeply into enemy territory. The high ground allows Israel to detect missiles while they are still in the launch stage and to destroy them.

Would the "West Bank" be demilitarized? Even those who want Israel to retreat to her pre-1967 borders are agreed that the evacuated areas must be demilitarized. But that would be useless. Because the Palestinians will have thousands of trained soldiers, camouflaged as their police force. In case of war against Israel, these troops could be helicoptered in minutes to their positions, with armored forces reaching them within the same night. In any case, it is highly doubtful that the surrounding hostile Arab nations would allow such a military vacuum to exist. And finally, there is the matter of terrorism. There are over fifteen Palestinian Arab terror organizations that neither Yassir Arafat nor any other Palestinian authority can control. There would be a constant rain of Katyusha rockets launched into the Tel Aviv area and into the entire coastal plain, which contains 80% of Israel's population and of its industrial and military potential. Ben Gurion airport, every incoming and outgoing flight, would be subject to mortar fire or shoulder-held Stinger attack. Does anybody doubt that the Arabs would not exploit that irresistible opportunity?

> "Without Judea/Samaria (the 'West Bank') Israel would be totally indefensible; therefore, neither the purposes of Israel nor those of the United States are served by Israel's relinquishing control over the 'West Bank'."

Without the "West Bank" Israel would be totally indefensible. That is the professional opinion of over 100 U.S. generals and admirals. Israel's strong defensive posture makes it most inadvisable for Israel's enemies to attack her. But once this defensive strength is removed, a coordinated war against Israel can only be a matter of time. The example and fate of Czechoslovakia, which preparatory to the Second World War was dismantled and shorn of its defensive capacity, insistently come to mind. What does all this mean to the United States? In a part of the world in which our country has the most far-reaching geopolitical stakes, Israel is the guarantor of American interests in the area. With Israel in a position of weakness the role of the United States in the area would collapse and radical states such as Syria, Iraq and Iran would dominate. That is why, despite the heady prospect of "peace in our time", neither the purposes of Israel nor those of the United States are served by Israel's relinquishing control over the "West Bank".

This ad has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic about the Middle East

P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit 501(c)(3)organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world. Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

Yes, I want to help in the publication of these ads and in clarifying the situation in the Middle East. I include my tax-deductible contribution in the amount of

$ _____ NR/47

❑ My contribution is in the amount of $50 or more. Please send me your booklet containing 24 of the ads that you have published in national media over the last few years.

My name is _____

I live at _____

In _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail to FLAME P.O. Box 590359 San Francisco, CA 94159

collaborate with Gestapo agents is too bizarre for comment." But the charge was probably typical of the accusation that was made against all enemies who had been impressed, like Herrick, with the spirit of the Anarchist brigades.

Romerstein points out that Abramofsky and his two friends were actually not deserters. They were seeking to honor the promise made to the men that they would be sent home after a specified tour of duty, which included four months at the front and three full months in training. Although John Gates and the other leaders, according to a typed memo found in the Moscow files, originally agreed to send the men home if they so desired after the specified amount of time, they changed the policy to one that would have all volunteers "staying to [the] end of [the] war." Hence Abramofsky, a man who had been under fire for months and saw his cousin killed in battle, was not told that he had to remain until the end. That was enough to send him over the edge. But Abramofsky and others found that they were now assigned to Spanish military units and ordered to stay and fight. Those who refused disappeared. Meanwhile, party leaders who served a useful purpose at home were regularly sent back to the States, so they could appear at rallies and recruit others.

Combing through the Moscow files, Romerstein found evidence of other missing Brigade members. A nurse named Rose Abramson was accused of being a spy, her request to return was denied and the accusation that she was a spy typed at the bottom of her letter requesting return. Arrested and brought to the Albacete base, her fate was never discovered. More to the point, Romerstein uncovered scores of reports in the Moscow archives about Brigade members considered suspect for such crimes as wearing pins of an Anarchist battalion, keeping diaries or daring to protest poor conditions in the training camps.

The Moscow archives include a letter from a political commissar to the main base at Albacete, referring to a trial of twelve deserters who, it appears, might have been executed. But the term "deserters" referred not only to those refusing to fight, but also to those who "deserted" the C.P.'s political line. Romerstein has uncovered a report on one Harry Rayfield, who was not on the State Department list of those who ever returned home. His party unit chastised him for "organizing a committee ... to try to improve the soldier's conditions and also ... the working people in the locality." What upset them is that Ray-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

field's agitation was made "in an intelligent and veiled way and [he] bases his argument on things which really exist," such as soldiers not getting pay that was due them. He still appeared at C.P. meetings, and his unit thus determined that "we believe that this comrade is a Trotskyite ... and we ask for him to be watched." That was the last heard of Comrade Rayfield. Since Carroll used the Moscow archives, it is striking that none of this material that appears in the slim Romerstein volume is to be found in his book.

Moscow had many uses for the unwitting soldiers. Their passports were confiscated when they arrived in Spain, and they were promptly shipped to Moscow, where they were altered and used by NKVD agents for their own purposes. One Canadian volunteer's passport was altered and used by Ramón Mercador, the assassin of Leon Trotsky, who was given the identity of a Canadian named Frank Jackson. Josip Broz Tito received the passport of a Yugoslav-born naturalized British subject who served in the Brigades, and was used by him to re-enter Yugoslavia before Germany attacked the Soviet Union. And one famous incident involving an American, the journalist Sam Baron, goes unmentioned by Carroll.

A correspondent for the American Socialist Party's newspaper, Baron was arrested by the secret police and taken to an office where he was interrogated in front of a large portrait of Stalin, called a "Trotskyite Fascist" and held for two days. Baron was seeking information on the fate of POUMists, Anarchists and Socialists facing danger from the Communist services, and it appears that he was saved because he was an American. Hans Amlie, back in the United States, explained that he was lucky, since he could "have been shot for treason." And the Comintern archives include a document, cited by Romerstein at length, that reveals that Baron was reported to the Spanish secret police by the American Communist leaders in Spain, Robert Minor and James Ford. They proclaimed him to be "a spy against the Spanish government," a man who was asking provocative questions and conferring "with some questionable military persons." Indeed, another American party document found in Moscow by Romerstein claims that it was a "mistake" not to have "exposed Mr. Baron as a military spy." The report, written by Charles Dirba, head of the Party's Control Commission, chastises his comrades for not exposing "the character of the Trotskyist Baron more in the line of the Zinoviev-Trotsky-Bukharin type of military espionage than we did."

But Sam Baron was not a spy. He was a socialist reporting on the suppression of dissenters. His name appears only once in Carroll's book. Carroll writes that Hans Amlie, the same man who had attacked Albert Wallach as a "Jew deserter," was "so disgusted at the failure of the Socialists to build a fighting force" that he took the occasion of Baron's visit to Spain for the Socialist press to resign from the Socialist Party and to formally become a Communist. Carroll evidently is not concerned about what happened to Baron at the hands of the Communists.

Carroll seems to have been one of the only scholars or reporters allowed by the KGB to interview their still-living atom spy, Morris Cohen, but Cohen is mentioned only once in the book, where Carroll observes that Cohen's recruitment to the NKVD and subsequent espionage work and his willingness "to undertake such dangerous, controversial work reflected the ideological fervor of the Lincolns." One might think that committing oneself to espionage and treason against one's own country could be described with stronger words than "controversial." The book does contain a startling photo of an ingratiating Carroll with arm around the smiling elderly Cohen.

Carroll's method is to raise points of contention only to cast them aside. A final example: he writes that anti-Communists had always accused "the Communist Party of ruthlessly sending men to Spain to fight against superior military forces, without regard for the human toll," and he responds that his research and interviews prove this to be unfounded, since "not one person claimed to have been sent to Spain ... against his will." That is true; but it does not bear at all on the charge that once there, the men were forced on what were—or so one must conclude after reading any account of the battle at Tereul or the bloody wasteland at Jarama—useless death marches.

The last section of Carroll's book deals with the now-familiar plight faced by the returning veterans, who were condemned as "premature anti-Fascists," blacklisted from jobs and work because of their Communist beliefs, sometimes even refused admission into the Armed Forces during the war. Carroll asserts that their historic role, since the 1960s, turned out to be the building of bridges between Old Left and New. Ignored for years, the anti-war movement of the '60s and the social movements of the '70s and '80s resurrected their legend.

It is here that Carroll gives away his bias. John Gates, the first leading Communist to break with the party after 1956, eventually became a strong anti-Communist, and built a career advising workers who belonged to David Dubinsky's old union, the ILGWU. Carroll accuses Gates of rejecting "his radical vision,'" as if that is proof of sin, and of having left not just the party "but the premises of Marxist analysis." Horror of horrors, Gates became a "liberal Democrat."

Those who stayed the course are treated more kindly. They are shown supporting every left-wing cause, and this marks them for sainthood. Abe Osheroff, Ted Veltfort and Bob Reed worked to help Nicaragua's Sandinistas and finally felt as if they were back in Spain, 1937. Ruth Davidow worked to build a professional health system in Castro's Cuba—and these and others Lincoln veterans are quoted as saying how in so doing, they were "coming home ... like Spain again." And the final effort that marks their admirable activism is a description of the vets who marched under the Lincoln banner at a rally in 1991 in San Francisco protesting the Gulf war, which Carroll refers to as "the American war against Iraq." It does not occur to him that those opposing fascism and aggression might have favored a strong military response against the regime of Saddam Hussein.

His book ends in a paean to the politics of the unreconstructed left of the '30s. And so Carroll ends up exactly where Robert A. Rosenstone ended in 1969 in *Crusade on the Left: The Lincoln Battalion in the Spanish Civil War*. Rosenstone argued that it was wrong to see the veterans as dupes in a cause betrayed by Stalin, because that did not "come to grips with their honest radicalism"; but, since Rosenstone reached that conclusion, much new material has become available. Carroll purports to have used and examined documents found in newly available Moscow archives, but the little that Romerstein has presented is more valuable and interesting than Carroll's entire book. We still await a comprehensive study of the brigades that separates fact from fiction, and dares to tell their story in conjunction with a candid appreciation of Soviet policy, and with an understanding that the memories of veterans may be affecting, but they are not the best avenue of access to the truth.

RONALD RADOSH is Senior Olin Professor of History and Political Theory at Adelphi University in Garden City, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

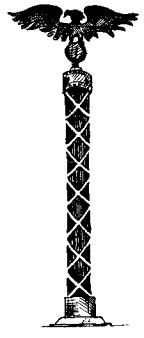
COPENHAGEN DIARIST

Sanctuary

CHRISTMAS IN COPENHAGEN IS seldom as you would imagine it. Our only snow was an hour of flurries on the day after Christmas; the polar bears, remarkably, stayed in their neighborhood about 1,300 miles to the north; and what snowgear may have been stocked in abundance was replaced with umbrellas as the season wound down. This year, though, the bleakness of days with only six hours of light was visited not only on the hardened, ascetic Danes, but also on the 18,000 Bosnian refugees in the country. Many of them were experiencing their first Christmas away from their homeland. They now sleep at night without the fear of Serbian shells raining down on their homes; but they have not exactly been welcomed with open arms by their fellow Europeans.

THE UR-MYTH OF DANISH TOLERance and humanity toward the persecuted is, of course, the story of the rescue of the Danish Jews in October 1943. After three years of less than honorable cohabitation with the German occupiers, the Danish government stopped cooperating on August 29, 1943, and, with the King's blessing, resigned. German forces entered Copenhagen, and the Gestapo started to ferret out Denmark's Jews, who until then had enjoyed the protection of the government. Within a week, though, 7,000 Danish Jews and Jews of foreign nationality were rescued in a boatlift to neutral Sweden. Five hundred were captured and sent to Theresienstadt, where fifty died; the rest returned after the war. During the anniversary ceremonies two years ago, the recurring response of those families and fishermen who had saved and sheltered the Jews was simple: "What else did you expect us to do?"

THE HEROIC RESCUE OF THE DANish Jews still sends shivers down the spine. But with today's Bosnians in Denmark, one is more likely to feel a shudder of embarrassment. Granted, the very reason the Jews were saved was that they were thought of as fellow Danes in every conceivable way. It was a virtue in Europe then to think of the other as fellow. In 1995 the other is, no doubt, more other—a man or a woman or a child whose roots are Balkan, whose language is Slav and whose faith, if any, is Muslim. (It's ironic, still, that the Muslim affiliation of these thoroughly secularized Bosnians is raised as a red flag by Danes whose own secularism is second to none in Europe.) And so a week before Christmas, in a procedural parliamentary move, the right-wing opposition in Parliament succeeded in postponing the passage of a law that would allow Bosnian refugees with more than two years of residency to apply for permanent asylum and, ultimately, for citizenship. The Bosnians became pawns in a much larger (and smaller) debate about immigration, and their fate hostage to lumpenpoliticians of every stripe.



THIS WAS A PARTICULARLY nasty act of demagoguery, since the opposition knew that the Social Democratic government had the votes to pass the law at its second hearing on January 12. The political aim was, quite evidently, to fan the flames of fear and xenophobia, as well as to exploit the rebellion by Social Democratic mayors and local politicians whose parochial interests have put them on a collision course with the government. To be sure, Denmark, along with Sweden and Germany, has taken a vastly greater proportion of Bosnian refugees than either France or Britain, and, on the whole, has treated them as well or better than any other European host country. And yet its troubles with its immigrant and refugee communities mirror those of most European countries, and its debates are miniature versions of those played out among its larger neighbors.

THE FEAR AND THE IGNORANCE that mark the immigration debate in Denmark were crystallized, quite inadvertently, by a proposal from a petty, faux-populist mayor of one of Copenhagen's suburbs. At the height of the argument over whether to keep the Bosnians in camps (until "the fighting stops," as the opposition phrases it with exquisite blitheness), or permit them to enter Danish society, this man of the little people offered a solution: a national referendum on the question, "Should Denmark become a multiethnic nation?" There was, unsurprisingly, an outcry of revulsion across the political spectrum (excepting Denmark's version of Le Pen's Front National). And Copenhagen's liberal daily, *Politiken*, reminded the country of its obligation to the refugees of a war for which Europe was largely responsible.

STILL, THE MAYOR'S QUESTION—however preposterous for a national referendum—was not an unreasonable premise for thinking about national identity in a Europe of migration and mobility. Several years ago the Danish editor and journalist Herbert Pundik remarked that Denmark either must shut its borders completely or accept a multicultural future. His aim was to alert the Danes to a reality from which there is only the most heartless of escapes. He also acknowledged, though, that the immigrants of our era would not be as easily assimilated as those from Northern and Eastern Europe. Many of them are Muslims with little affection for what they perceive as the rootless secularism of modern Denmark. Their children, however, have shown an altogether greater desire to assimilate into Danish society, and, given the chance, would like to think of themselves both as immigrants and Danes. (As a Mousavizadeh of Copenhagen, not entirely a Dane and not entirely a Persian, I can understand.) The problem lies in the culture's persistent inability to conceive of the foreign-born as Danes or potential Danes. They are invariably described as foreigners, or guest-workers, here on borrowed time, their identity as much defined by their otherness as by their place in the work force.

DENMARK'S (AND EUROPE'S) DEbate about a multiethnic future is long overdue. Of course, the immigrants still make up a small percentage of the population in Denmark (between 5 percent and 10 percent), and remain peripheral to the nation's identity. But the walls of identity are porous. With the influx of the Bosnian refugees and of those who undoubtedly will follow from nationalism's killing fields, the choice between an imaginary homogeneity and a culture willing to redefine its premise of belonging will appear with ever more urgency. Perhaps then, the condition of exile will be seen not only, loftily, as the inspiration for so much of great contemporary literature, but also, more mundanely, as the beginning of ordinary lives for people who seek only more of the ordinary. "Exile accepted as destiny, the way we accept an incurable illness, should help us see through our self-delusions," Czeslaw Milosz has written. For the exiles and their new neighbors in Europe, the words are not only philosophical. They are also practical. They make the foreign familiar.

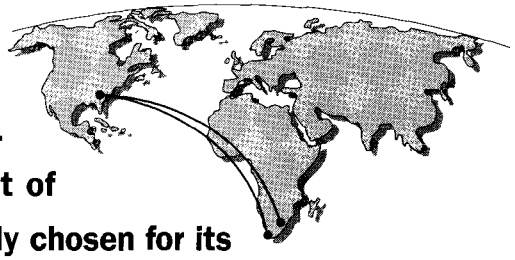
NADER MOUSAVIZADEH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We Can Get You To South Africa In About Half The Time It Takes To Fly Through Europe.

(Excuse Us For Being So Direct.)

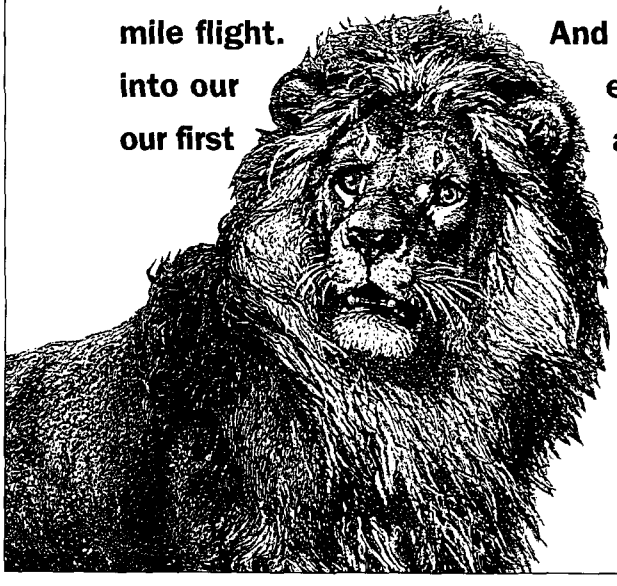
As the only U.S. airline flying direct and exclusively to the incredible land of South Africa, USAfrica Airways is dedicated to getting you there in a manner as comfortable as it is luxurious.



Our flights depart 6 days a week out of Washington-Dulles International, specifically chosen for its ease of access, superior connections, and simple, same-terminal transfer.

Once on board the state-of-the-art MD-11, you will find pilots averaging over 20 years flying experience. And a cabin crew superbly trained to cater to your every whim.

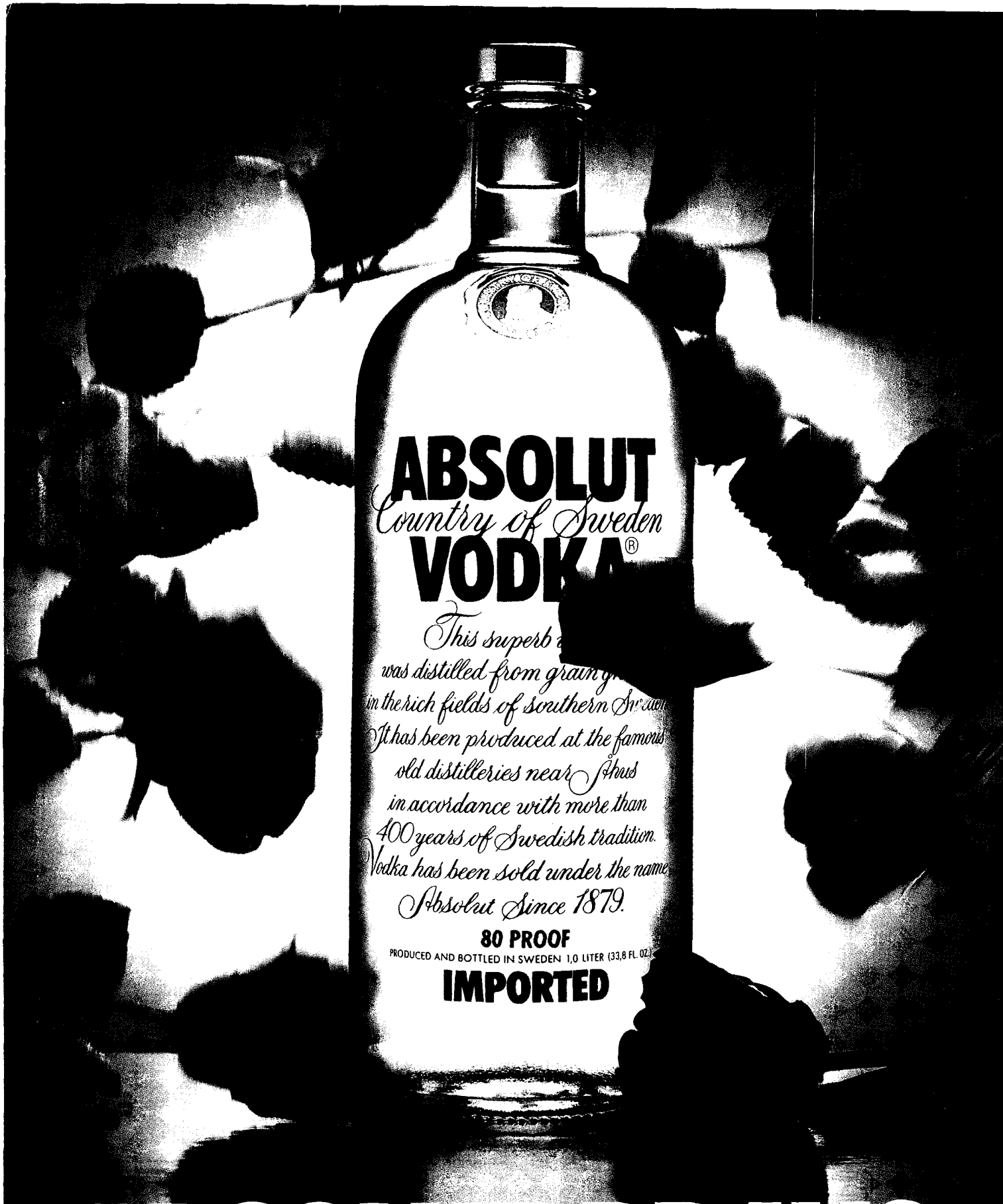
In economy class, you will find 36 inches between seats as opposed to the regular 28 to 32. That's a very big difference on an 8,000 mile flight. And if this kind of thinking has gone into our economy class cabin, just imagine what our first and business classes must be like.



For more information on schedules and fares, please contact your travel agent or call 1-800-233-3424. We look forward to welcoming you aboard.

USAfrica Airways America's Flag Carrier to Southern Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ABSOLUT
Country of Sweden
VODKA®
This superb
was distilled from grain
in the rich fields of southern
It has been produced at the famous
old distilleries near Åhus
in accordance with more than
400 years of Swedish tradition.
Vodka has been sold under the name
Absolut Since 1879.
80 PROOF
PRODUCED AND BOTTLED IN SWEDEN 1,0 LITER (33,8 FL. OZ.)
IMPORTED

ABSOLUT BRAVO.

ABSOLUT® VODKA. PRODUCT OF SWEDEN. 40 AND 50% ALC/VOL (80 AND 100 PROOF). 100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN VODKA & LOGO, ABSOLUT, ABSOLUT BOTTLE DESIGN AND ABSOLUT CALLIGRAPHY ARE TRADEMARKS OWNED BY V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. ©1994 V&S VIN & SPRIT AB. IMPORTED BY THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM, NEW YORK, NY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED